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RELIGION STILL THE KEY TO HISTORY¹

THERE are three men in the world whose daily doings and sayings especially interest it:—the Emperor William, President Roosevelt, and the Pope of Rome. Two command public attention by the union of great official powers with strong native faculties of mind and will. The third commands it almost purely from his official character. He governs no territory, although his authority is daily felt in the remotest quarters of the globe and he holds a court to which great nations send ambassadors. In the sphere where he does bear rule, he has evinced no faculty of individual initiative. He has no force of speech, no power of the pen. The son of a simple peasant, his greatness consists in his headship of a venerable and world-wide church, and in his thus standing, more than any other man, as the representative of a great religion.

Lamprecht tells us that history is "an sich nichts als angewandte Psychologie." To this extent certainly the epigram rings true that history can never neglect to take into account whatever psychological forces move peoples or actuate leaders of peoples. Such a force has always been found, is still found, in religion. It is one of those—vague, impulsive, constant in play, inconstant in intensity—which deny to the historical student the power of scientific prediction.

Ours is an age of more reverence for human reason and less reverence for human authority. But as reverence for human authority becomes less, a conviction deepens that men are subject to a power greater than themselves. We may call it Nature, or call it God. What we know is that it speaks by laws—invariable laws. What we feel is that it is a thing of mystery;—too great to be meas-

¹ Annual Address of the President of the American Historical Association, delivered December 26, 1906.

ured from earth; too far from man, near though it be at every step, to be so much as seen in all its outline by his philosophy.

The relation of history to religion has been greatly changed during the last two centuries. What we call modern history, and distant times may deem to be that of the Middle Ages, had its real beginning when modern government arose, and that was when the peoples of France and the United States, as they gathered in the fruits of their revolutions, pronounced that absolute religious liberty was one. Civil liberty and popular government were no new things in the world. A state without a church was. Guizot has said that Democracy was introduced into Europe by a foreign missionary named Paul. If this be so, it was a democracy whose motive and sphere were religious. Political democracy dissevered from religion was to come seventeen centuries later.

It was to take from religion its legal authority, but only to strengthen its moral power. Until the "ideas of 1789" took formal shape, history had been the record of what the few did with the help of the many. It has since been the record of what the many do, with the help of the few. It may well be that at some time the leaders—the few who are in authority in any nation—may be careless of religion. The many—or at the least, the whole people—never will be. If a majority should be indifferentists or irreligious, the minority will be all the more devoted to the cause to which they attribute a sacred character.

Religion offers in statecraft a means of resting policy upon principle. It is, as Talleyrand has said, only when rested upon principle that a policy can endure.¹ The principles sanctioned by the religion of the time are incontestable. Later times may discard them. But to each generation of any people the principles instilled by ministers of religion under the sanction of the church will permeate society and become a part of its being—of what in the truest sense is its political constitution.

I use religion to signify something real, and not less real because to one set of men it is one thing, to another set another thing. It does not seem to me that Renan was right when he said that "*Les religions, comme les philosophies, sont toutes vaines; mais la religion, pas plus que la philosophie, n'est vaine.*"² No religion is wholly vain. Each is true to its disciples, and in its truth to them inspires their lives. History has to do with all religions, because it has to do with all men.

¹ *Memoirs*, Putnam's edition, II. 124.

² *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, I. xxviii.

Every great religion has come at the beginning with a resistless power. It comes as the expression by some clear-sighted, high-strung leader of men of what has long lain confusedly in the minds of many of his fellow-countrymen, now first really disclosed to them and clothed with a light and power that is wholly new. There is a truth in it, or it would not be great; and truth endures.

Such a religion has a beginning, but it will have no end until the national ideas of the peoples to whom it has presented a new conception of life are radically changed. It worked a social revolution when it first appeared, but the shock of it then, however great, was less of a world-force than the trembling, far-diffused, which in after years and ages has marked its continued life. It is a permanent addition to the energies of civilization.

As a key to history, religion has changed its form since the overthrow of the ancient order of things that marked the close of the eighteenth century; but its strength remains the same.

Once that strength was largely found in the power of an established church, or of a sentiment of opposition to an established church. Now it is coming more from the force of the principles for which, at bottom, churches stand, in influencing general public opinion.

Once it received large expression in the fine arts, brought to the service of ecclesiasticism. The pyramids, the Greek temple no less than the Gothic cathedral, the paintings of the masters of former days, in Asia as well as Europe, the great music of the past, were all its offspring. To-day these arts turn for the most part elsewhere for their inspiration and ideals.

The artist is tired of the anthropomorphism by which his predecessors degraded the divine. The architect is planning, the decorator is adorning, museums, libraries, lecture halls, state-houses, more than churches. The composer meets every mood. But there is here, too, a line that never can be passed. A school of art may be non-religious. It cannot be irreligious, and endure.

Once religion led to alliances of nations for no other cause than that they shared the same form of it and wished, perhaps, to secure it a wider spread. Against such connections the Peace of Westphalia, with its rule of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, shut one door, and the futile outcome of the Holy Alliance closed another. In international affairs the distinction between Christian and infidel has passed away as fully as that between Greek and barbarian; but that which is vital to all religions and common to all religions is but the more clearly seen, and strongly felt.

History has a place in "the literature of power." It has it only by right of the human motive that controls events and the imagination that can see and paint it.

There was a half-truth in what Sir Edward Burne-Jones once said, that there were but four English historians: Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray. There is no historian who is not an artist. He must tell his story in a large way. He is concerned with what is in essence part of a long process. Facts, as Macaulay puts it, are the dross of history. Their relations to us are what is to be fined out, and when these are found in religion, something great has at once come in to dignify the work.

Herbert Spencer has said that in the fine arts "a work . . . which is full of small contrasts and without any great contrasts, sins against the fundamental principles of beauty".¹ The thought may be extended to historical literature. There must be great contrasts to make any particular history effective. But more than this, it is only so far as it presents great contrasts that any history, be it particular or universal, is true. They are its soul. They are the moving cause of the trivial events and common course of things which conceal them from general observation.

Such contrasts, in those states of society with which the historian has to deal, enter into each human life. They come from those two things which, as Kant said, fill every man with a certain awe—the starry heavens and the still, small voice of his own conscience. This conscience may be largely a product of human evolution. It means little or nothing to the savage. The starry heavens mean little to him. But he is impressed by the inborn or from birth in-trained conviction that there are higher and unseen powers, one or many, from whom something is to be feared or gained. Man enters organized society without losing this conviction. He feels himself bound to something higher and stronger. The bond may easily become a fetter, but on the whole it makes life larger and less selfish.

What is natural to man is inherited from generation to generation. Whatever he has acquired—be it of thought or knowledge—must be taught over again by each generation to the next, if it is to endure. Religion is part of his nature—a spiritual possession which education does not give, except in form, and seldom takes away.

That the religion of every race has, down to recent times, gone far to shape its history, few will dispute. Does its controlling influence on national conditions pass away before a higher civiliza-

¹ *Autobiography*, II. 408.

tion and a wider knowledge? May it be a key to the life of a tribe of savages, but only as an incident of immaturity and ignorance? Does the key grow rusty, as time goes on? Or is the religious motive one of the inherent, universal, and eternal forces that must, in all ages, deeply affect, if not vitally control, the doings of men, as massed in nations, in matters of national concern?

Perhaps the answer hangs on what the religious motive is. If it be to secure some personal good, whether here or hereafter, for oneself or one's family, it will be inevitably weakened by advances in civilization. All those advances are towards altruism. Altruism proceeds from the spirit of self-sacrifice, and that is the highest spring of religion. "Selfish and interested individualism", says John Morley, "has been truly called non-historic. Sacrifice has been the law—sacrifice for creeds, for churches, for dynasties, for kings, for adored teachers, for native land."¹

It is this spirit which gives all its nobility to the story of our race. As it brought all Christendom together in the Crusades, so it brought the civilized world together in the Conference of Peace at the Hague in 1899. In each of these great movements it was distinctly associated with religion—blindly in the one, truly in the other. That the ancient distinction between Christian and infidel found no place in the rescript of the Czar, which led to the Hague Conference, was of itself some proof of its essentially religious motive.²

¹ "Democracy and Reaction", *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1905 (vol. 57, p. 547).

² At a critical moment in the proceedings of the Hague Conference of 1899, there came into the hands of the president of the American delegation a letter sent out by the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Texas to the clergy of his diocese with a form of prayer to be used in all the churches, asking the blessing of God on the work of the Conference in the interests of peace. The Emperor of Germany had instructed his representatives to oppose the institution of any court of arbitration. Mr. White was at the time preparing a despatch to the German prime minister urging him to use his influence to secure a reconsideration of the question. He referred to the letter of the bishop as an important utterance of a widely prevailing Christian sentiment, which could not be disregarded, and also handed it to the bearer of the despatch, his associate, the late Dr. Holls, to use as he might think best. Dr. Holls showed it to the chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, who—a strong religionist—was evidently affected by it. Not long afterwards, the German delegation took a position favorable to the treaty of arbitration, and Mr. White refers to the incident as "perhaps an interesting example of an indirect 'answer to prayer.'" *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II, 311, 322.

We have his authority also for the statement that religion in a curious way dictated the original call for the Hague Conference. The Czar acted in the matter on the advice of Pobedonostseff. Pobedonostseff desired a reduction of armaments as the only means which he could see to give Russia the means to increase her grants for the benefit of the State church. *Ibid.*, 269-270.

Thus far in the history of the earth, the mass of mankind have ever sought to regulate their conduct by their desires. Civilization has somewhat modified their desires. It has given them new forms, inspired them by new influences, turned them in new directions, subjected them to certain conventions; but individual desires are still what press forward as the natural motive-forces in and of organized society.

Nevertheless they have seldom for any long period ruled the course of society. There has been a minority of the people, actuated by counter-forces of an intensive character and power, sufficient to make it stronger than the majority in so far as to beat down mere desire and replace it by some theory which all recognize as more noble and worthy. Philosophers have led one wing of this minority; religionists the other. And which has proved the stronger force, religion or philosophy? Which appeals to the most minds? Which appeals to the most hearts? To the heart, religion alone. The morals, the ideals of the philosopher are powerless with the multitude unless touched by the fire of emotion and quickened by that faith in the unseen which turns human things into divine things.

The philosophic thought of Eastern literature is also religious. The effect of this literature on the Western mind has become, during the last half-century, quite considerable. It has reinforced the Emersonian school and given new recognition to reverence for the mysterious in the order of the universe.

Religion, being man's conception of what is fit for a superhuman or divine order of things, must vary in form to correspond with differences in human insight and knowledge. Following the general law for all that lives, formulated by Spencer and Darwin, it everywhere proceeds in its manifestations from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, and must continue in this course. It is not that the ultimate object of search changes. The attitudes and capacities of the observers change. If any particular religion ever overspreads the earth and gains universal acceptance, it will gain it everywhere by taking its color, like the chameleon, from the soil, or perhaps, as to-day with the Christian religion, assuming many colors on the same soil. Only the motive and the general moral product will be cosmic.

Men owe to their mothers their first introduction to the world of the mind and the spirit. Women are, by their inherent nature, religious beings. Equality of civil rights before the law will never disturb the poise of that nature. It is never satisfied to be en-

sphered within itself. It seeks to ally itself with something stronger. It responds readily to the mysterious. In a sense it is true that the life of every man turns on what is to be his relation to some woman. In a much deeper sense is it true that the life of every woman turns on what is to be her relation to some man. If happiness of home be denied to a man, he may find, or fancy that he finds, the void filled in the busy world. If it be denied to a woman, she cannot. She feels the void too deep to fill, unless it be by a peace that the world can neither give nor take away. And if happiness of home be given to a woman, she is more apt than man to think it but a gift from some higher power.

These sentiments that from childhood imbue half the human race, that half instils in childhood into the whole. The first knowledge that comes to the babe in arms is that there is a protecting and supporting power, from which he receives everything, and to which he renders nothing but confidence and love. He grows into a child. Other forms rise up around him with which he finds himself in close relation. Motives of conduct are put before him; duty to parents, among the first. There are few to whom a mother's voice does not suggest a reason for this duty in a divine command. The very oaths the boy will hear uttered upon the street will bear the same message in a different dress.

A race, as Renan said, lives forever on its recollections of childhood. Impressions of religion then gained are never absolutely effaced. Like the secret despatch written in lemon-juice, they reappear at the touch of fire—in moments of deep feeling and supreme effort. It is by what is done at such moments that battles are won, parliamentary majorities change, dynasties fall.

The most uncompromising materialist is seldom without his obligations to early impressions for his contentment with his surroundings. There will be still, though he be not conscious of it, some lingering subjection to their power. As Dr. Barry in his sketch of Renan has said, "the sceptic lives on a capital stored up during the days when he believed. He is a philosopher on half-pay."

Religion is a large word. Matthew Arnold's epigram expresses but a half-truth. Religion is morality—the morality of the time and of the race—touched with emotion—the emotion of the human heart. But as emotion is not self-contained, neither is it self-produced. It is a feeling of one towards another or with another, or else it is a feeling inspired by a memory of another or a conception of the ideal. The one is the more passionate: the other is the more profound. Either is a strong spring of action.

But one is of the earth: the other transcends the earth. Each has often turned the course of history. It has been suddenly and sharply turned by emotions that belong to the present, that awoke or were awakened by like emotion in another. It has seldom been permanently turned or permanently guided by these. That is the work of the emotions fed by the unseen; emotions for which we owe nothing to our senses, nothing to ourselves. For if man is the measure of the universe, it is only because he sees that it is immeasurable, and feels that there is something immeasurable within himself which is a part of the immeasurable beyond himself. This feeling, this emotion of the heart, passing into a conviction of the mind, is the quickening spirit that makes our customs or morals flower into religion.

Theologians, speaking for their realm of science, call it, as it appears there, faith—or perhaps faith in those who profess the doctrines to which they adhere; superstition, in other men. Historians, as it appears in their realm of science, all see it in loyalty to national ideals, reverence for national institutions, veneration for the heroes of the past. All of them, I think it may be fairly said, have not been as ready to acknowledge its rightful power over a people when it turns their thoughts towards that transcendent energy which those call divine who feel that it brings them into a personal relation with the unseen and the unknowable.

It may take the shape of pure theism. It may find divinity shining through a human form. It may find it in every man.

The modern world, so far as the leaders of its thought can speak for it, is less confident than the world of a thousand or ten thousand years ago that there exists a being detached from all else so like ourselves that we can name it like one of us, a person, and presume to define its attributes in terms of human speech. It is more confident that there is a power in the universe that so controls or constitutes it in a settled order of relations and causation that all may safely trust in the continuance of that order without a break. It is more confident also that it is a power that, in the sum of things, makes for what is good as well as true and is worthy the highest name we can invent for it—the name of God.

If there be anything in the theory of the monist; if there be but one actuality in the universe, and that motion, or a force expressed in motion, the manner of that motion is, or seems to us, ruled by attraction. Attraction draws little things to great things: earths to suns; men—for their bodies—to the earth; but for their thinking selves it is still the dominating faith that these are in like manner,

if insensibly, yet surely, drawn towards a greater thinking self, as source and end.

Ruskin said of Sainte-Beuve, that he never for a moment admitted to himself the possibility of a True as well as an Ideal Spirit, or God.¹ It is precisely this which threw Sainte-Beuve out of touch with the people about him, and shut him out of the public heart. Spencer built on better foundations. His own conceptions might differ widely from those of English people. He might declare that "that which persists, unchanging in quantity but ever changing in form, under these sensible appearances which the Universe presents to us, transcends human knowledge and conception—is an unknown and unknowable Power, which we are obliged to recognize as without limit in space and without beginning or end in time."² But if unknowable to him, this Power was not one with which he would lightly reckon as respects its influence on others. As Frederic Harrison said—and said rightfully—Spencer "looked to the unknowable environment behind the world of sense and knowledge as the sphere and object of religion." To the positivist, the unknowable environment is no less an admitted fact, but—to use Harrison's language again—"the only intelligible sphere of religion must be the knowable", and "the elements of the unknowable are immutably set in the canons of experience".

The church of the world stands nearer to Spencer. It disdains the dogma that the knowable is immutably measured by any form of human experience. The world in general rejects it. It is unscientific. Who would have said, a century ago, that the voice of a friend speaking in Denver could be heard in New York, and recognized in every intonation as easily as if he were in the same room with him who is addressed? Who would have said, twenty years ago, that a ray of light could be so framed and directed as to light up the interior of the human body and show the skeleton within it? Who would have said, ten years ago, that there was a heat-producing mineral that never cooled? What canons of scientific experience brought within the range of probable assumption marvels like these? Surely it is but reasonable to expect that the common people will look at each new discovery of such a kind as fresh proof of an intelligent creator, and another step nearer to knowledge of what He is.

The full power of such a belief is seldom felt by those who are themselves unaffected by it. For this cause, if for no other, the

¹ *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*, II. 13.

² *Autobiography*, I. 652.

historian whose judgments will be accepted by future generations must write in a religious spirit. He cannot use a key too large for him to grasp. I mean here by religion a reverent consciousness of a power (be it law or spirit) manifest in nature, which is stronger than man, and a sense of obligation to answer its demands. Its common fruits, ripened by human association, have through all historic times been what in those times passed for collective virtue and self-sacrifice. The historian must respect these qualities. He must share in them, so far at least as to recognize them in others, and recognize their controlling force.

George Sand makes her Marquis de Villemer declare that "*Jamais une conscience troublée, jamais un esprit faussé n'entendront l'histoire.*" It will be always inclining to search out or invent some unworthy motive, some low design, in the greatest acts. It cannot comprehend that in which it has no part. Nor can the man whose conscience is untroubled and spirit true, but to whom himself the religious motive is a stranger, appreciate what may be its mastery of others. Particularly is this true where behind the religious motive is the conviction of the personality of God. He to whom the divine stands as a being detached from all beside, will go farther and dare more for the love of God or fear of God, than the man to whom the divine transcends all personality and permeates whatever the universe contains. The very conception of such an immanence of God in the world is at once too vast and too subtle for the ordinary mind. It diffuses a power which the other conception concentrates. It turns a guide into a theory.

If mankind is always craving heroes to worship, much more it craves a King of Kings, eternal in the heavens. The thought of unity in nature—of a single purpose or power to which all that we see or know or feel is related—is common to most of the great religions. It is also a vital part of them. To those who are possessed by it, it seems a clue by which to trace back every event of history to its farthest source. It is distinctly a religious clue.

It naturally associates itself with the thought of unity in human authority.

To the Mohammedan, religion is still the centralizing force in government that it was for a thousand years to the Christian world. Medieval Europe could conceive only of one spiritual head and of one imperial head on earth. It was this sentiment that kept the Holy Roman Empire in life centuries after, as Voltaire declared, it was no longer Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.

Convince the mass of any people that a change of custom or

of law, or no change of custom or law; that a war or no war; the maintenance of an ancient policy or the substitution of another; the support of an existing government or its overthrow; is demanded by duty to God, and you have a motive of action that is likely to prove irresistible. It is a motive easy to apprehend and there are always those who are ready to suggest it. Not only are they ready, but they have a vantage-ground which gives to what they say peculiar weight. It is that of the church.

Between man and religion stands everywhere something in the nature of ecclesiastical authority, either self-asserted, or governmentally affirmed. The formalism in religion which naturally results from an established church makes for conservatism in politics. In proportion to the hold which such a church has on the community, it saps the springs of popular enthusiasm, and makes against business activity. Time which would otherwise be spent in labor is consumed in feast-days or fast-days. Leisure is gained, but at high cost and under circumstances unfriendly to its best use. In public educational institutions studies of more importance are apt to be put aside for instruction in the symbols and liturgies of the church.

The same tendencies proceed in all countries from churches to which a large majority of the people belong, though not established by law, if they are ceremonial in their institutions. This cause has colored the life of the people and vitally affected the course of industry in Spanish America¹ and British India.

There are twenty American republics. Two of them, Cuba and San Domingo, are bound to us by political ties of a peculiar character. The rest shun us. We want their trade, but it goes to Europe. We want their sympathy, but what we receive is rather apprehension and suspicion. We meet them in Pan-American Congresses, but while projects are framed few are consummated. Why is it that with their political institutions so largely copied from us, they are foreign to us in spirit? Race and language, I believe, have been less the cause than religion. Religion counts more with them in influencing habits of thought and measures of social order. The church, as such, is a greater power.

In South America and Central America the church was so long the only fountain of education, that public sentiment deemed it a sufficient source. There are countries in which the state has assumed this function, where churches have been found to promote

¹A striking, and not inaccurate, forecast of its probable history was made in a letter from Jefferson to Lafayette, of May 14, 1817. *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial edition, XV. 116.

its efforts for their own sake. In Finland, for instance, in the Lutheran denomination which there prevails, confirmation is refused to those who cannot read, and the consequence is that illiteracy is rare. So in a conquered country, if an established church survives, it may prove a nursery of patriotism. Modern Greece as an independent kingdom owes its existence to the Greek church. This kept alive the national feeling and tongue during the long years of Turkish occupation.¹

The church appeals to what is poetic in our nature, and as our associate President Woodrow Wilson has finely said: "We live by Poetry; and not by Prose."

But the only true establishment of a church is in the hearts of those who belong to it. If they have faith in its principles, these will have a large influence in guiding their action as citizens in public affairs. Fear of its discipline, be it established or unestablished, will not.

The attitude of every important church towards socialism is antagonistic. If it become official antagonism, it loses power. Why is socialism steadily growing in political weight, throughout Europe? Why in France did its friends cast nearly half a million more votes at the elections of this year, than in any previous one? It is a sign of the decadence there of the power of the Vatican, pushed unwisely to the front in its encyclicals. It was a natural incident of the struggle which was separating church and state. As Professor Blondel has said of it: "Le peuple français est sans doute moins irréligieux qu'on ne le prétend quelquefois, mais il est très défiant à l'égard de tout ce qui lui apparaît comme une ingérence cléricale, et n'accorde pas volontiers sa confiance à ceux qu'il soupçonne de sympathie à l'égard du 'gouvernement des curés.'"²

The jealousy of clerical government on the part of the French people, however, is largely because they have learned to look on it as a government inspired from Rome, subject to Rome.

One of last year's books bears the title *Les Deux Frances*. They are the France of the Blacks and the France of the Reds; of the party of King and Church, and that of Revolution. A party standing for old institutions cannot easily be displaced by a party standing for new institutions, unless these rise up as the outcome and expression of a spirit of individualism, native to the soil. If each party rests for its support on corporate influences, the struggle will

¹ *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II. 439.

² *Blätter für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaftslehre*, July, 1906, p. 178.

be long and doubtful. There are still therefore *les deux Frances*, ever in conflict. The King—the thought of a restored monarchy—has almost disappeared as a constitutive force. But so has the Revolution. To that the corporate influences of the Republic have succeeded, and to-day it is the France of the Church contending with the France of the Republic. If the Church should learn to encourage the individual initiative of its followers—to let Frenchmen direct the course in France of the Roman church—the France of the Blacks may yet prevail.

The history of any people will be largely governed by its means of education. How far shall it extend? By whom shall it be furnished and controlled? "Educate your masters" is the command of political philosophy to the modern state. No education can be deemed complete which does not treat to some extent of religion. Yet if it be given at public expense, the cost will be borne by some who scout at all religion, and many who disagree with the prevailing forms of it.

The position which the world is gradually taking on this subject rests on principles foreshadowed in colonial Maryland and Rhode Island; first formally asserted by any government on purely humanitarian grounds in 1786 by Jefferson's statute of religious liberty in Virginia; and spread over a wider field by the Constitution of the United States.

The utmost point that had been previously reached was that religious liberty should be as great as the safety of the state permitted. Now it was declared that no limitations were required by the safety of the state. Yet here more than almost anywhere else is seen the difficulty of reconciling it with religious sentiment.

The King of Bavaria, in a state paper early in the last century, declared that in public education religion was not to be taught at the cost of learning, nor yet learning at the cost of religion. There are still many, however, who believe it to be to the cost of learning for the state to assume to teach that, without making religion a part of it.

More than a million children are being educated in the United States every year in the various schools of the Roman Catholic Church. The cost of this can hardly be less than twenty-five or thirty million dollars. Those who pay it are also required by the state to contribute as much as any other tax-paying citizens to the support of the public schools. It is no small force which leads these men to assume such burdens. It is the conviction that educa-

tion is incomplete unless religion be taught as part of it, added to the belief that the best form of religion, or we might say perhaps the only form of true religion, is that of which their own church is the expression.

Holland has profited by our experience, and since 1857 has forbidden religious instruction in her public schools. The Catholics were not content to have it given by Calvinists, nor Calvinists to let it come from Catholics. Similar considerations, fortified by an influence substantially unfelt in Holland—that of socialism, have now thoroughly secularized education in France, but only after the most bitter contests. In both English and Canadian politics the same question is now the dominating one.

The position of Russia in this respect has been one of the circumstances weakening her as a great power as well as leading directly to revolutionary change. The church has had the full direction of the public schools. For the first three years, it kept the children simply learning prayers by rote, except for a little drill towards the close in mental arithmetic. No instruction in reading was required. The product of such a system is not simply popular unintelligence. It is an unreal quietude, easily passing into a blind fury, under the influences of a century like ours.

Religious tests for ordinary offices have been largely abolished, even in monarchical governments, but whenever in these there is a state church, the monarch, as its head, remains bound to it by vows so solemn as to prove the conviction of the people that nothing can safely be yielded there. The coronation oath of King Edward stood for the same dogmatic rigidity in its reference to the papacy as did that of an opposite kind imposed on his niece, the Princess Ena, before she could be Queen of Spain.¹

There is no civilized nation in recent years where the state supports the church, in which there has not been so much dissatisfaction with that policy as to inspire some public opposition. In many, the

¹ This was "I, recognizing as true the Catholic and apostolic faith, do hereby publicly anathematize every heresy, especially that to which I have had the misfortune to belong. I agree with the Holy Roman Church, and profess with mouth and heart my belief in the Apostolic See, and my adhesion to that faith which the Holy Roman Church, by evangelical and apostolical authority, delivers to be held. Swearing this by the sacred Homoeousion, or trinity of the same substance, and by the holy gospels of Christ, I do pronounce those worthy of eternal anathema who oppose this faith with their dogmas and their followers, and should I myself at any time presume to approve or proclaim anything contrary hereto, I will subject myself to the severity of the canon law. So help me God, and these his holy gospels."

opposition has already triumphed: in all, it will. The disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, in the face of the solemn provision to the contrary in the Act of Union, will some day be followed by the disestablishment of the Church of England, whose numbers have recently sunk to a minority of the English people. In France, the separation of the state from the churches, first in regard to education, and then at all points, has been the great political issue for a quarter of a century. The French Revolution could not accomplish it. Though in the Constitution of 1791 it was asserted that all the property of the church belonged to the nation, and the Concordat ten years later confirmed it, it was only in this present year that France ventured seriously to stand upon her title.

A church to which the mass of any people belongs will exert a stronger influence on them than on their leaders in civil affairs. These leaders will be better fitted to exercise an independent judgment. They will be more moved by motives of personal ambition. Religion will not be to them the one thing to elevate their thoughts beyond the narrow round of domestic life.

But of those who direct affairs in any nation in which government formally avows and teaches in its schools the existence of a higher spiritual power few will escape the conviction that in this at least there is truth. A belief in God leads to a trust in God in great emergencies, and to an inspiring identification of God and country. In war, this motive is as strong to-day as it was a thousand years ago. The *Cambridge Modern History*, after giving one volume to the Reformation, devotes another to what it styles the Wars of Religion. The Wars of Religion did not end in the seventeenth century, nor in the nineteenth. France is still sore from her losses by the last.

The influences of an ecclesiastical establishment and of the simple religious motive were curiously intertwined in what led to the fall of Napoleon III. The relations of Germany to the papacy had an important influence in bringing on first the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 and then that between France and Prussia in 1870, both fomented from Rome, as events likely to prove a check to the Protestant interest in Europe.¹ The proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles was the unexpected fruit—unexpected but not unnatural. The German fought for God and fatherland. The French were permeated by the godless philosophy of the first republic.

¹ See *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II. 350.

The German is taught religion in the school. He is reminded of it from the throne. The Emperor William, as fully as the Czar, seizes every opportunity to claim a divine sanction for his authority.¹ He has thrust France aside as the universal protector of Catholic missions in the East, and found his profit in it by large territorial acquisitions in China, seized in retaliation for outrages on German missionaries. He has made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

France, too, of late, in the same way, has so shaped her Chinese policy that the flag has followed the missionary. The republic has clung to the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the monarchy, though with the abrogation of the Concordat it is difficult to see how its protectorate over Eastern missions can hereafter be asserted.

A religious motive in foreign affairs can only be seriously advanced when a religious motive is recognized in home affairs. The loss of that in the French Revolution was one of the first things of the consequence of which, after the restoration, Talleyrand warned Louis XVIII. when consulting with him over the best assurances with which to surround his throne. You have, said he, to deal with a people "accustomed to found their rights on their pretensions, and their pretensions on their power." "Formerly, religious influence could support royal authority; it can do so no longer, now that religious indifference has pervaded all classes, and become almost universal." "Royal authority can therefore only derive support from public opinion, and to obtain this it must be in accord with that opinion."²

It may be doubted whether religious indifference was so widespread in the France of 1815, when this was written. If so, it was because of a torrent of revolution which for the time had swept before it the good and the bad alike. That torrent has left to public opinion a lasting place of power over human governments, but it has also, I believe, left religion in its old place as the main foundation of public opinion.

Early in 1905, the Emperor of Germany, in a public address,³ declared that the defeats of Russia in her war with Japan were due to the deplorable condition of Russian Christianity. It was deplorable because directed by a state church which failed to respond to the spirit of the times. None of its members could abandon it for another without forfeiting all civil rights, including that of holding

¹ See particularly his speech at Coblenz, August 31, 1897, quoted in Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 301.

² *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, Putnam's edition, III. 130, 147.

³ On March 9, 1905, in an address before the naval recruits at Wilhelmshaven.

property. Its principal functionary, M. Pobedonostseff, was a conservative of the conservatives, to whom the Orthodox Greek Church seemed the only thing that bound the many peoples of Russia into the Russian people.¹ The creed of this church is medieval: of its teachings and influence Tolstoi has told, and the world believes him.

The very month after the sharp words of the German Emperor, the Czar, against the protest of Pobedonostseff, decreed religious liberty; and his subsequent convocation of the Douma was closely followed by directions to the Metropolitan who is president of the Holy Synod to call a general council of the Orthodox Greek Church. No such council had met since 1654. It can hardly fail to give a new direction to the religious life of the mass of the Russian people.² Already they have shown a new interest in what it stands for by a general inquiry for copies of the Bible. More parts of Bibles and Testaments were sold in Russia last year than in any year before, over half a million in European Russia alone. The fruits have not thus far made for peace, but they may be worth more than peace.

A department of the Holy Synod, until recently, as a bureau of "Spiritual Censure", held control of all publications on ecclesiastical history, theology, or philosophy. Nothing could be published or sold, on these topics, without its permission. It is worth noting that from 1863 this bureau forbade the circulation of any part of the Old Testament except the Psalms, in the languages of the people. There was too much in the other books that breathed the spirit of revolution.

It may indeed be safely said that no single cause for the spread of religious liberty and, by consequence, of civil liberty in modern times has been so powerful as the circulation of the Bible in all languages. It is to-day pronounced by publishers to be the best-selling book in the world.³ The market for it has steadily broadened with and because of the new latitude of interpretation and criticism countenanced by modern churches.

The last sixty or seventy years has indeed given to Christendom a new Bible. It is not that so very much has been discovered by

¹ *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II., chap. 36.

² Before these changes, Pobedonostseff and his school had relied on the popular reverence for religion as the main support of autocracy. If there be such a thing as a religious stage of development for nations, Russia was still in it. The events of 1906 would indicate that reverence for her state church, at least, had been seriously weakened.

³ The North India Bible Society, which is sixty years old, published and circulated, between 1890 and 1900, a yearly average of 87,000 copies of Bibles, New Testaments, and selected portions of them. Since 1900 this annual output has been nearly doubled, and the number rose in 1905 to 195,879.

archaeologists or worked out by critical research, which was unknown before, but because the attitude of Christian people and Christian ministers towards biblical study has become gradually revolutionized. Textual homiletics, textual theology, unscientific theories of interpretation, have become generally discredited. The spirit of free inquiry, which not long ago characterized but a few men like Strauss and Renan, has now begun to characterize all real Christian scholarship in the United States and most of it in the world at large. Here, from the absence of religious establishments and the presence of universal education at public charge, it has naturally had free scope. It has given a prominence before unknown in modern times, outside of China, to character and conduct as the foundations of a true life. It has brought the general Christian world to look upon them as about the only evidence worth having that in any man earth has been brought close to heaven, while still maintaining that character and conduct are the fruits of the ideal, the children of faith in the invisible and eternal. It has brought the wider world of civilized mankind in all continents to care little for a man's theological beliefs, everything for his beliefs, his real beliefs, as to what is the true, the good, and the beautiful.

Panislamism has gained a fresh inspiration from this source. The Young Turkish Party, already recognized as an important political force, founds itself on treating the Koran with the same free hand with which Christians treat the Bible, and so bringing its teachings into harmony with the new thought of a new time.

During the last few years the American people have insisted, to a marked degree, on the observance of higher ethical standards on the part of their public and of their business men. The movement in this direction has been a steady one for more than half a century. In 1843, the foremost English novelist, fresh from a visit to the United States, could speak of it as "that Republic, but yesterday let loose upon her noble course, and but to-day so maimed and lame, so full of sores and ulcers, foul to the eye and almost hopeless to the sense, that her best friends turn from the loathsome creature with disgust."¹ So severe an arraignment was unjustified in 1843. It would have been impossible and unthinkable at any time since, let us say, the Civil War. But it was not the Civil War that elevated the moral standards of the people. War is a salvation to some souls, a damnation to many more. "Treasons, stratagems, and spoils"—the spoils of the field and the spoils of the army contractor—make a poor soil for the growth of public morals. The

¹ Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, chap. xxii.

American people have grown to a purer life, or at least to a demand for a purer life on the part of those who lead their fortunes, mainly by force of a world-movement, which has simply found here the freest play.

The better relations between Jew and Christian that now generally exist are attributable, in no small degree, to the growth of this ethical spirit; not so much because ethics make for fraternity, as that this growth proceeds from a tendency on the part of Christians towards acceptance of the same fundamental religious principles. The Jew has never troubled himself very much with the question of personal immortality, and all that goes with it of responsibility and retribution. His aim has been to make the best of earth; his hope that of a Messianic era here. Christian theology has looked more to a future world as the real home of men, in an abode or state that, happy or miserable, was to endure forever.

Christendom, during the last few years, has been approaching the Judaic view, as best expressive of the immediate objects to be pursued in human life. Hence among those peoples which have gone farthest in this direction, the political and social condition of the Jews is more favorable than among those—like Russia, Roumania, and Austria—which have made no substantial change of position. If his life on this earth be the great thing for a man to regulate and plan for, why complain if the Jew wins the prizes of trade and wealth, though it be by concentrating his attention on material gains? "Go thou and do likewise" is becoming, perhaps too fast and with too little qualification, the general motto of the business world.

Christian theology anticipated evolution in endeavoring to account for what is base in human nature. It set it to the account of original sin. To raise up a being infected with that not simply from his birth, but through an inheritance from ancestors infected with it for countless generations, was a task which God only could accomplish. To Him it was the work of a moment; and they called it salvation.

It was a theory well calculated to have a profound effect on the human mind. It gave an immense power to a priesthood believed to have the power of speaking for God and declaring to any man that his salvation had been accomplished. It put them by the side of kings and above kings.

A time has come when the leaders of the church are beginning to say with John Fiske that "original sin is neither more nor less

than the brute inheritance which every man carries with him, and the process of evolution is an advance towards true salvation."

The church is changing—has changed—its ground. It is not losing—has not lost—its power. It makes use of the old truth in a new way. It was right at bottom.

The unfolding of the law of evolution from the first, for those who accepted it, unquestionably tended to narrow the order of things in which man has his being. As the bond between him and the lowest forms of life became visibly stronger, that between him and any form of life higher than himself became visibly weaker. He was of less importance in the world. Wallace could open the gates to the new vision of the past; he could not shut them. He could not lead men to any new standpoint from which they could look on the earth as the centre of the intellectual or moral universe.

The church, at first, everywhere disinclined—still much of it disinclined—to accept the theory of evolution with all that it implies, has begun to readjust itself to its new environment. If, she says, this new evolution can produce from some single torpid cell a being with the intellectual and moral force of man, why may not man contain the torpid cell out of which in some at least may be evolving and ultimately, in some other stage of being, may be evolved what for want of a better word we call a Spirit—something with an energy akin to what we name divine? Force is persistent. That it is we know. What it is we do not know. If persistent in what is material, why not persistent in what is immaterial? If persistent in what we call time and space, why not persistent in something which we do not dare to call time or space and vaguely name eternity?

But questions like these do not much concern the mass of human-kind. The leaders of intellectual life are few. They are followed at a long interval. They know this, well. It is their office, in every generation, to set the goal, but to moderate rather than to speed the pace of the people as they turn in the new direction.

The leaders of intellectual life who are in positions of ecclesiastical authority, under the influence of these forces, have everywhere begun to preach a new theology. It is a theology of the present. It might almost be called a theology of the earth, earthly. Its foundation is still the existence of a great first cause, which men call God. Its aim is still to set forth the whole duty of man, and to found it on his duty towards this almighty and eternal source of his being. But it sets it forth with less assumption of a knowledge of the unseen. No Nicene creed, no creed professing to define the genesis and nature and attributes of God, could ever be the product

of the twentieth century. The modern pulpit and council are content to say with St. Paul that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." The churches of every faith, in some degree—of all in proportion to their share in the time-spirit of their generation—are pointing to Man as the only real revelation of the nature of God, and to the opportunities of the present life as what chiefly concerns him, in his highest as well as his lowest desires and activities. One hears little in churches led by an educated clergy of a future heaven, and less of a future hell. It is this pressing, immediate world about us, that is their theme. "One world at a time" is more and more becoming the practical doctrine of the modern pulpit. Do your duty to-day, and be not anxious about tomorrow, whether it be the morrow of the next sunrise or of a million ages.

What has been, what is to be the effect of this change in the attitude of the church on the course of human history? It will not remove the power of theistic appeal. If it should spread over all nations, and all faiths, it will leave unimpaired the motives of duty to God and country. A war to maintain the honor of fatherland and of the fathers from whom it was inherited will always enlist the sympathies of the people with double force, if they are quickened by religious convictions.

Recent events have shown that soldiers who believe they are fighting God's battles may yield before those not superior in numbers or arms who believe that in fighting they are honoring the first ancestors of the sovereign, whose spirit in an ancestor world holds sway over those of their own ancestors. The double character of the Mikado of Japan as spiritual leader and earthly sovereign, impressed by the institution of ancestor-worship upon every Japanese from infancy, moves him far more deeply than the Russian muzhik is affected by his reverence for the Czar as head of his country's church. Admiral Togo's message to the Mikado last year, attributing to his superhuman influence the annihilation of the Russian fleet, spoke the real conviction of a great man and a great people.

We must never forget that not only were the founders of all the great religions of Asiatic origin, but that religion is now a more vital force in Asia than on any other continent. The deep, if dreamy, spiritual insight, the brooding intellectual habit, the strength of antecedents, that belong to the East, put religion there in a position as lofty as it is unique.

Hegel observed that there are two natural steps in human life,

that of subjectivity and objectivity. The youth bends his thoughts towards the correspondence that he is to establish between himself and the universe. He proceeds from himself outwards. He joins his life to the ideal, in hope and faith. Years pass and he has found his place. There is a round of daily duties and perhaps of pleasures, on which his attention centres. His thoughts now turn not to the ideal but to what life in fact has brought him, and to how that shall be best accomplished.

The race of man pursues the same stages. In the East, they are still in the first. Even in Japan, so largely occidentalized, they are constructing for themselves a new ideal of Christianity. Except for Japan, they are what they were. Subjectivity still holds them captive.

China has recently abolished the requirement of familiarity with the Confucian classics on the part of those desiring official appointment or promotion. The first examination under the new system took place this fall, and the nine receiving the highest marks were men educated in the United States or Europe—the first of them a doctor of philosophy and the next a doctor of civil law of an American university.

A change like this involves, as a necessary consequence, the rise of new national ideals. The calm and restful tone of the Confucian philosophy of life will be replaced by something less smooth and more deep, more religious. The spirit of the West has burst upon the silent sea of self-satisfied seclusion on which China has been idly floating for two thousand years. It has troubled the waters. It may turn them into a river that will run far.

As respects Mohammedanism, the fundamental precepts of that faith are such as necessarily to give them a strong political effect.¹ Its adherents stand together, like the members of a secret order. In Europe they cling to their religion as closely as in Asia. In 1900, seven thousand Mohammedan Servians suddenly left the country, because one Mohammedan had been received into a Christian church.²

The strongest assurance of the power of the Sublime Porte is the general recognition by the Mohammedan world and the King of Great Britain as Emperor of India, of the Sultan of Turkey as the true Caliph or Commander of the Faithful. The strongest menace of the British Empire in the East is the utter foreignness there of

¹ Only by force of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 has religious toleration been anything but an empty word at Constantinople.

² Francis H. E. Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life* (New York, 1903), p. 88.

Western Christianity. The European sent to Asia or Africa to govern a subject race finds himself separated from it by an aloofness which he cannot conquer. It does not proceed from him. He is often anxious to overcome it, in the native. But it is the inevitable fruit of antipathetic relations, springing from religious differences.

The religions of the West rule the religionist. The religion of Islam rules every Mohammedan, be he saint or sinner; and in case of war all are faithful to the commander of the faithful. Lord Cromer, a few months ago, received a warning letter from one professing to write in the name of his people of Egypt, and whose stately periods remind one of the Hebrew prophets. It was addressed to "the Reformer of Egypt."

He must be blind [said the writer], who sees not what the English have wrought in Egypt; the gates of justice stand open to the poor; the streams flow through the land and are not stopped at the order of the strong; the poor man is lifted up and the rich man pulled down; the hand of the oppressor and the briber is struck when outstretched to do evil. Our eyes see these things and we know from whom they come. You will say: "Be thankful, oh, men of Egypt! and bless those who benefit you;" and very many of us—those who preserve a free mind and are not ruled by flattery and guile—are thankful. But thanks lie on the surface of the heart, and beneath is a deep well.

While peace is in the land the spirit of Islam sleeps. We hear the Imam cry out in the mosque against the unbelievers, but his words pass by like wind and are lost. Children hear them for the first time and do not understand them; old men have heard them from childhood and pay no heed.

But it is said, "There is war between England and Abdul-Hamid Khan." If that be so, a change must come. The words of the Imam are echoed in every heart and every Moslem hears only the cry of the faith. As men we do not love the sons of Osman; the children at the breast know their words, and that they have trodden down the Egyptians like dry reeds. But as Moslems they are our brethren; the Khalif holds the sacred places and the noble relics. Though the Khalif were hapless as Bajazid, cruel as Murad, or mad as Ibrahim, he is the shadow of God, and every Moslem must leap up at his call as the willing servant to his master, though the wolf may devour his child while he does his master's work. The call of the Sultan is the call of the faith; it carries with it the command of the Prophet, blessings, etc. I and many more trust that all may yet be peace; but if it be war, be sure that he who has a sword will draw it, he who has a club will strike with it. The women will cry from the housetops, "God give victory to Islam!"

You will say, "The Egyptian is more ungrateful than a dog, which remembers the hand which fed him. He is foolish as the mad-man who pulls down the roof tree of his house upon himself." It may be so to worldly eyes, but in the time of danger to Islam the Moslem turns away from the things of this world and thirsts only for the service of his faith, even though he looks in the face of death. May God (His name be glorified) avert the evil.

It is the existence of this spirit which makes the punishments often inflicted on insurgents by the British in their Eastern possessions sharp up to the point of barbarism. Nothing less tells there.

It is the mosque that guards the palace of the Sultan.

Sir William Marriott, when in company with Ismail Pasha, the first Khedive of Egypt, happened to meet in Boulogne a procession of young girls on their way to their first communion. The pasha saluted it with a low reverence. "Your Highness is more Catholic than the Catholics", said Sir William. "Ah," was the reply, "you see I have ruled, and no man can rule without religion."¹

On this point East and West can both agree. Napoleon said, in reference to the Concordat of 1801, that he saw in the church not the mystery of the incarnation but the mystery of social order. Later, at the height of his power, speaking in the same vein, he intimated his belief that Christianity was an illusion but a very useful one. It assured the tranquillity of the state in reconciling man with himself and giving him a philosophy to live by. The age of illusions was for nations, as for individuals, the age of happiness.²

It is not for history to pronounce whether any religion or all religions be founded on mere illusions. She must leave that to theologians and psychologists. But in her field of inductive sociology, she owns still the continuing force of the religious motive.

In modern politics, it takes on a new importance. They are expressed in terms of representative government. It may be representation by a legislature, or by a ministry. In either case it will assume to represent the people by representing a party. Representative government implies and involves party organization. Party organization is unfavorable to the expression of candid, impartial public opinion. But let any religious question be involved, and public opinion will find a way to express itself, which no party machinery can seriously obstruct.

So in world-politics, now so largely governed by a public opinion of the world, the pressure that can be brought upon any one power by others—that is brought upon each by other peoples through the press—will be immensely strengthened if it be impelled by an ethical or religious motive;—ethical or religious, for an ethical impulse common to many nations belongs to the religion of humanity.

That grows as ecclesiasticism declines. The Christian church has been gradually reduced, to use the phrase of Gardiner, "from the exercise of power to the employment of influence". Its tend-

¹ *Memoirs of Grant Duff*, II. 18.

² *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, Putnam's edition, I. 339.

encies of thought run, more than those fostered by any other of the great religions, towards loyalty to humanity, rather than to race. It is the only one that makes any serious effort to preach its gospel "to every creature". "We recognize", said Tertullian, "one commonwealth, the world." It does not hesitate to put its own rules above those assumed for political science or economy. From the churches of England came the last great impulse that carried through the Corn Laws, and made free trade her policy to-day. There are signs of a movement in the churches of the United States in the same direction. Should it gather force, statesmen must reckon seriously with it.

Renan, in his *Life of Jesus*,¹ remarks that he was the first of men to conceive, or at all events to put life into that thought, that liberty was something independent of politics; that one's country is not everything; and that the man is anterior and superior to the citizen.

The share of government in human society becomes less obtrusive as time goes on. Show of force declines as the sentiment of obedience to law becomes more prevalent. Public authority is more and more localized in small political communities, there to be administered by representatives of the inhabitants. These social principles go to diminish the weight of national governments, and make the individual man feel that he is a citizen first of his own local community and then of the world. They also strongly reinforce the general trend of the Christian religion (which we may fairly say is to-day the strongest of any in its influence upon human history) towards insistence on universal brotherhood as the ultimate criterion of international obligations.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

¹ Chap. vii.

FRENCH REPORTS OF BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

AMONG the documents classified under the head "Correspondance Politique, Angleterre," in the records of the French Foreign Office are included numerous reports of debates in the British Parliament, chiefly of the eighteenth century. These reports, some mention of which is to be found in the *Inventaire Sommaire* issued by the department in 1903, do not appear to have formed at any time an unbroken series; a certain number, alluded to in despatches sent at the same time, have been mislaid or destroyed since. Most of them give but short abstracts of the speeches, which are not to be compared with the verbatim reports of the present day. Their historical value would be rather slight if we were in possession of a version both complete and reliable of the parliamentary debates previous to the nineteenth century. But such a version, as it would be easy to show by conclusive arguments, does not exist at present, and we do not even see the way to compile a satisfactory one.¹ Therefore any document which is likely to throw a ray of light into the surrounding darkness, any report which can give fair evidence of its own accuracy, even if insufficient in itself, must be marked out and compared with the other sources. Be it ever so short and scanty, it may fill up a gap; it will at any rate help us to control our antecedent knowledge, to put its worth to the test, to mete out the ground which we may hope to know with some degree of certainty, and the space beyond, which we must make up our mind never to explore.

I.

The writer did not, while perusing the volumes of the Correspondance Politique, meet with any parliamentary report previous to the time of the Restoration. Even during the eventful period when the Parliament of England, then in the heat of its great struggle with the sovereign, practically ruled the country, there

¹ On the history of parliamentary reporting in England, see the prefaces of vols. VIII., X., and XI. of the *Parliamentary History of England*; William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, I. xx et seqq.; George Birkbeck Hill, appendix to Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, I. 501 et seqq.; *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Guthrie"; and P. Mantoux, *Notes sur les Comptes-rendus des Séances du Parlement Anglais au XVIIIe. Siècle*, pp. 2-34.

seems to have been no anxiety among the French to know what was going on in the House of Commons. They inquired about its doings more than about its sayings.¹ When the first Parliament of Charles II. was opened, the *chargé d'affaires* Bastet wrote to De Lionne:

The sixteenth of this month, the Parliament met at Westminster, and the opening took place without the King's presence. . . . I was the only Frenchman there, none of our people being tempted to see it, as all of them are waiting for the day when His Britannic Majesty goes there in state. I would give Your Excellency a full and particular account of the sitting, if I did not fancy that all the openings of the English Parliament are very much alike, and so, that the account would be of no use and would only bore you.²

One might suppose that, though not interested in the formal proceedings of the first day, he would give a report of the following ones; but he never does it except by hints.³

About the time of Barrillon's embassy the French government began to take an interest in England's home politics. They had, as we know, rather good grounds for doing so. Louis XIV. held Charles II. in a sort of financial bondage, and his ambassador's position in London was something more than that of a foreign envoy. Barrillon accordingly followed very closely the progress of parliamentary business, and conveyed information about it to his royal master in his direct correspondence with him.⁴ Sometimes he also wrote about it to the Secretary of State.⁵ Some of those letters are very long, and enter into details concerning the debates of both Houses. At the time of Danby's impeachment (a momentous incident, which was not unconnected with French intrigue) Barrillon sent to his court the bill of indictment, with a translation of the speech delivered by the accused minister, to which

¹ Bellièvre, for instance, writes to Cardinal Mazarin: "Après avoir été assis [sic] douze heures, la Chambre basse se vient de lever. A ce que j'ai pu en apprendre, ils n'ont rien résolu contre les Ecossois, sinon que le comité des deux royaumes aurait pareille autorité sans eux que s'ils y assistaient; mais ils ont ordonné contre le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne que la lettre qu'il avait envoyée ne serait point prise pour une réponse, qu'on ne traiterait plus avec lui, soit en envoyant ou en recevant des messages, et ont fait même défense à toutes personnes d'apporter quelque chose de sa part." Letter dated January 13, 1648, *Correspondance Politique, Angleterre*, vol. 47, f. 21. Cf. letter from Grignan to Mazarin, February 17, 1648, *ibid.* 76, and letter of Bellièvre to Servien, August 28, 1648, *ibid.* 273.

² Letter dated November 18, 1660, *ibid.*, vol. 73, f. 125.

³ *Ibid.* f. 175 (letter dated December 2), f. 193 (letter dated December 10).

⁴ See, for instance, in vol. 127, Barrillon's letters to the King dated February 9, 1678 (f. 242), February 17 (f. 255), February 19 (f. 278), February 28 (f. 289), etc.

⁵ Letter dated February 14, 1678, *ibid.* f. 253.

he added, in a letter to the King, an account of the sitting when the question had been brought before the House of Lords.¹

The occurrence was an exceptional one. But in Barrillon's despatches to Louis XIV. and to the Marquis of Pomponne are included, frequently enough, reports of parliamentary debates. And these reports are not confined to more or less important passages in letters dealing with various subjects. They very often take the shape of special notes, which were annexed to the correspondence. Such summary abstracts are often found in a series, including several days. They make up then a sort of diary of Parliament—something between a dry journal of proceedings and a report properly so called²:

19/29 mars 1679. Milord Chancelier ayant exposé à la Chambre le rapport du comité, sur le sujet des accusations intentées dans le dernier Parlement par la Chambre des Communes contre quelques seigneurs, a proposé la question, si la dissolution du Parlement rendait ces accusations nulles³; après une dispute fort opiniâtée de part et d'autre, la Chambre a déterminé que ces accusations subsistaient toujours, et qu'on reprendrait le procès des seigneurs accusés où on l'avait laissé lorsque le Parlement fut cassé.

Milord Chancelier représenta qu'il fallait rapporter des exemples, pour faire voir qu'après la dissolution d'un Parlement, des accusations de haute trahison n'étaient pas nulles; Milord Schasbery [Shaftesbury] répondit qu'il ne croyait pas qu'on pût trouver de ces exemples, parce qu'il était inouï qu'on eût jamais cassé de Parlement pendant que la Chambre des Communes poursuivait une accusation de haute trahison contre des seigneurs.

La Chambre des Communes a nommé un comité pour examiner le journal de la dernière session du dernier Parlement, afin d'informer la Chambre des affaires qui étaient devant la Chambre avant que le Parlement fût cassé. Le comité doit faire son rapport demain au matin.

20/30 mars. Les seigneurs du comité pour examiner les affaires de la conspiration⁴ ont interrogé le nommé Nidham [Needham], et quelques autres.

On a lu pour la première fois dans la Chambre des Pairs un bill pour convaincre plus promptement et plus facilement les papistes récusants.

La Chambre des Pairs a ordonné que M. le Trésorier répondrait dans huit jours aux articles de l'accusation de haute trahison intentée contre lui et que l'on mettrait en prison ceux qui sont accusés d'avoir voulu attenter à la vie de Milord Chasbery [Shaftesbury].

La Chambre des Communes a ouï le rapport du comité qu'elle avait nommé pour examiner l'état où étaient les affaires lorsque le Parlement a été cassé.

¹ Letters dated January 2, January 5, and March 13, 1679, vol. 133, ff. 19-20, 31-40, 60, 248.

² *Ibid.* ff. 311-316.

³ Charles II. had declared the session closed and dissolved the House of Commons immediately after Danby's impeachment.

⁴ The reference is to the pretended Popish Plot, denounced by Titus Oates.

La Chambre a ordonné que le comité secret qu'elle a nommé aujourd'hui dresserait de nouveau les articles d'accusation contre M. le Grand Trésorier.

Elle a aussi résolu tout d'une voix d'envoyer un message à la Chambre des Pairs pour les faire souvenir de l'accusation de haute trahison intentée contre mondit sieur le Grand Trésorier par les Communes, et leur demander qu'il puisse être mis incessamment sous sûre garde.

21/31 mars 1679. Milord Cavendish porta à la Chambre des seigneurs le message de la Chambre des Communes contre M. le Trésorier. Après deux heures de contestation on résolut d'attendre jusqu'au jour suivant à prendre une résolution.

Sur la plainte qu'on a faite de l'impression de deux libelles imprimés et publiés sans permission, dont le titre de l'un est "deux lettres de M. de Montaigne [Montague] à Milord Trésorier, avec la harangue dudit trésorier à la Chambre des Paris" et l'autre "Lettre d'un jésuite de Paris, etc." on a ordonné que Jonathan Edwin se présenterait à la barre et déclarerait de quelle autorité il avait imprimé ces deux libelles. Le sieur Edwin a comparu et désavoué qu'il les eût imprimés. Mais il a déclaré qu'il les avait eus de son père, qui est l'un des imprimeurs du Roi. On a ordonné sur cela qu'Edwin père et fils se présenteraient tous deux à la barre demain matin.

Le Sr Otes [Oates] a lu ses dépositions, et a dit qu'il avait quelque chose à déclarer en particulier au comité secret; il se plaignit ensuite d'avoir été fort découragé dans la découverte de la conspiration et de ce que, se promenant un jour dans le jardin de Whitehall, M. le Trésorier, le voyant, dit: "Voilà un de ceux qui a [sic] sauvé l'Angleterre, mais j'espère le voir pendre dans un mois."

Il accusa ensuite le Sr Robinson, membre de la Chambre, d'avoir eu connaissance de la conspiration depuis quatre ou cinq ans, par un nommé Frérard [Everard] qui a été prisonnier quatre ans à la Tour.

Et le Sr Sackville, membre de la Chambre, d'avoir dit qu'Otes était un menteur et un coquin, et que ceux qui disaient qu'il y avait une conspiration étaient des méchants.

Il a déclaré que le Sr Henry Goring, autre membre de la Chambre, l'ayant trouvé proche de la Chambre des Communes, et lui ayant demandé que le Sr Innocent Gage pût être mis en liberté sous caution, ledit Sr Goring appela Otes coquin et fripon, sur ce que Otes lui dit que cela ne se pouvait pas, et que Gage était un traître. Ledit Otes s'est plaint encore des mauvais traitements et des menaces de quelques-uns de ses gardes.

Sur cela la Chambre a ordonné que le Sr Otes se présenterait lundi matin à la barre, pour prouver les accusations contre les trois membres accusés, et que cependant ils auraient toujours séance dans la Chambre.

Et que la plainte faite contre M. le Trésorier serait mise entre les mains du Comité Secret.

22 mars/1^{er} avril 1679. L'huissier à la verge noire est venu dire à la Chambre des Communes qu'il avait ordre du Roi de les avertir de se rendre dans la Chambre des Seigneurs. Le Roi leur dit:

"Messieurs, j'espérais que vous vous appliqueriez aux grandes affaires pour lesquelles je vous ai fait assembler, mais j'aperçois que les poursuites que vous faites contre Milord Trésorier vous ont retardés. Je viens pour les finir, et j'espère que ce sera à votre satisfaction. Je vous

assure qu'il a son pardon, sous le grand sceau d'Angleterre, et que même il l'avait avant que cette assemblée commençât, et je l'ai assuré de sa vie et de sa fortune, qui est ce que j'ai fait à tous ceux qui m'ont servi. Milord Buckingham et Milord Shafbury savent que je les ai traités de même. Pour ce qui est des accusations portées contre lui, je sais qu'elles ne sont fondées que sur de fausses apparences.

A l'égard de la lettre qu'il est accusé d'avoir écrite, je vous assure que c'a été par mon ordre, et quant à ce qui est d'avoir caché la conspiration, c'est ce qui ne peut pas être, car il n'en a jamais rien su que de moi. Quoi qu'il en soit, il a quitté son bâton, et je l'ai éloigné de ma cour et de mes conseils; il ne doit point revenir. C'est pourquoi j'espère que vous serez satisfaits. Je vous prie donc de vous appliquer aux affaires publiques, et de considérer sérieusement les choses dont je vous ai parlé ci-devant."

La Chambre des Communes, s'étant retirée et ayant délibéré, a résolu sur le champ que nonobstant ce que le Roi leur avait dit, on enverrait à la Chambre des Seigneurs pour demander que Thomas, comte de Danby, fût séquestré de la Chambre, et mis sous une bonne et sûre garde.

Les Seigneurs envoyèrent un message à la Chambre des Communes pour leur faire savoir qu'ils souhaitaient avoir une conférence avec eux dans la Chambre peinte. Les Communes ont fait réponse qu'ils répondraient à ce message par un autre, de quelques membres de leur Chambre. Ce qu'ils ont fait: ils ont mandé aux Seigneurs qu'il était contre l'usage des Parlements qu'aucune des Chambres fit demander une conférence sans avoir exprimé sur quel sujet on souhaitait de l'avoir.

Sur cela les Seigneurs ont envoyé un second message, et ont fait dire aux Communes que la conférence qu'ils souhaitaient d'avoir avec eux était sur le sujet de Thomas, comte de Danby.

La conférence s'est faite ensuite, et M. le duc de Monmouth, au nom des Seigneurs, a communiqué le projet d'un bill pour rendre Thomas, comte de Danby, incapable de paraître jamais en la présence du Roi, d'avoir aucuns dons ou aucunes gratifications de Sa Majesté, de posséder aucun office et d'avoir séance dans la Chambre des Pairs, et que ce bill serait réputé avoir été fait au commencement de cette dernière session, et le rendrait incapable de posséder aucune des choses que Sa Majesté lui peut avoir données depuis.

Le rapport de la conférence ayant été fait à la Chambre basse, l'affaire a été remise à lundi.

Les S^{rs} Edwin, imprimeurs, ont dit à la Chambre qu'ils avaient eu la harangue et la lettre d'un jésuite des mains de M. le Trésorier, qui les avait assurés qu'ils ne seraient jamais en peine pour l'impression de ces deux libelles. La Chambre leur a fait une réprimande, et leur a pardonné, à cause de l'ingénuité avec laquelle ils ont avoué la vérité. Ils ont ordre d'apporter les originaux de ces deux libelles, et on a nommé un comité pour les examiner.

On a nommé des membres de la Chambre pour aller chez M. le Chancelier savoir de lui de quelle manière on avait passé le pardon accordé à M. le Trésorier, et chercher dans les offices du Secrétaire d'Etat, et du Garde du Sceau privé, si l'on trouverait quelque chose sur ce sujet. Ils en doivent rendre réponse à la Chambre lundi prochain.

23 mars/3 avril 1679. Il a été résolu dans la Chambre des Communes d'un commun consentement qu'on enverrait [sic] un message à la

Chambre des Seigneurs pour demander justice au nom des Communes d'Angleterre contre Thomas, comte de Danby, et qu'il pût être incontinent interdit à la Chambre des Seigneurs et mis sous sûre garde.

Il a été résolu par la Chambre des Communes qu'il serait fait une adresse à Sa Majesté pour lui représenter que le pardon qu'elle avait accordé au comte de Danby était irrégulier et contre la loi, et qu'il était dangereux pour l'Etat d'accorder des pardons à ceux qui sont accusés par les Communes d'Angleterre.

On a fait une députation pour préparer et discuter l'adresse ci-dessus résolue.

Il a été envoyé un message aux Communes de la part des Seigneurs pour leur faire savoir que les Seigneurs, ayant considéré le message qui leur avait été fait de leur part samedi dernier, afin que le comte de Danby pût être séquestré de s'asseoir au Parlement, et être mis sous sûre garde, ils avaient ce matin ordonné que l'huissier de la verge noire prit le comte de Danby sous sa garde jusques à demain matin qu'il doit l'amener à la barre de leur Chambre, et les Seigneurs ont trouvé à propos de faire savoir à la Maison des Communes qu'ils avaient fait ceci avant qu'ils eussent reçu leur message.

Les deux Chambres s'étant assemblées cet après-midi sont allées à Whitehall porter une adresse à Sa Majesté pour la supplier d'ordonner un jour de jeûne général.

This sort of diary, the substance of which will be found in the *Journals*, is supplemented now and then by reports of a different type altogether, consisting of abstracts of speeches, and giving a lifelike image of the debates. Such is the report sent by Barrillon to the Marquis of Pomponne on March 20, 1679, which relates the incidents of the difference that had arisen between the King and the House of Commons about the election of the Speaker¹:

Le 17^e mars 1679. La Maison des Communes s'est assemblée à trois heures après-midi: sur les quatre heures, l'huissier de la verge noire leur vint dire de la part du Roi de se rendre à la Chambre des Seigneurs où Sa Majesté était en habits de cérémonie. M. Seymer [Seymour] lui dit qu'ayant plu à Sa Majesté de permettre aux membres de la Chambre des Communes de se choisir un orateur, ils l'avaient tous élu d'une voix et qu'il ferait son possible pour bien servir Sa Majesté et la Chambre dans l'emploi dont il était honoré.

Le Roi ne fit aucune réponse, mais Milord Chancelier dit que si Sa Majesté acceptait toujours la personne choisie par la Chambre des Communes, ce ne serait pas une grande faveur d'être choisi orateur; que Sa Majesté étant le meilleur juge des personnes et des affaires trouvait à propos de refuser M. Seymer [Seymour], étant plus propre à servir dans d'autres emplois, et que le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté était qu'ils procédassent le lendemain à l'élection d'une autre personne pour lui être présentée et recevoir son approbation. Sur quoi les membres de la Maison s'étant retirés et rentrés dans leur Chambre, le sieur Ernly, chancelier de l'Echiquier, se leva et informa la Maison de l'ordre qu'il avait reçu de Sa Majesté de leur recommander le Sr Thomas Myrre

¹ Vol. 133, ff. 280-284.

comme un homme fort entendu dans la pratique et dans toutes les formalités qui s'observent pendant la séance des Parlements, et dont Sa Majesté (à ce qu'il croyait) agréerait fort la personne et les services en qualité d'orateur. Mais tout le monde s'y opposa avec beaucoup de chaleur, et quelques-uns des membres parlèrent en ces termes :

M. Sacheverel [I]. On n'a jamais ouï dire qu'une personne ait été refusée sans donner quelques raisons du refus qu'on en fait; ainsi il faut qu'on en ait usé de cette manière à dessein de favoriser quelque particulier. *M. Seymer* est un homme qui a déjà exercé la même charge, et dont la conduite n'a jamais donné aucun sujet de plainte, et qui, n'ayant pas voulu consentir qu'on fit aucun tort à un héritier de la Couronne, n'a pas aussi voulu consentir qu'on violât en aucune manière les privilèges de la nation.

M. Williams. Il semble que ceci soit une question de droit. Je suis sûr qu'il y a plus de cent ans qu'on n'a ouï dire qu'on ait refusé aucun orateur présenté aux Rois et aux Reines d'Angleterre sans qu'on ait donné quelque raison du refus qu'on en a fait, ou sans quelque sujet extraordinaire, et si nous souffrons cela on recommencera tous les jours; séparons-nous.

M. Thomas Clerges [Clarges]. Il y a eu des Parlements longtemps auparavant qu'on ait eu des orateurs; mais pour l'honneur et la commodité des membres, ils ont ensuite fait choix entre eux d'un orateur. De plus je puis prouver qu'il n'y a pas longtemps que les Parlements se sont ajournés eux-mêmes de jour en jour, et même pour quatorze jours entiers, sans avoir un orateur, et que le clerc a toujours porté parole pour les ajournements. Messieurs, cette Chambre préserve nos vies et nos libertés, et nous devons aussi maintenir les privilèges de cette Chambre.

M. Garraway [Garroway]. Si vous passez cela vous passerez toute autre chose, et si l'orateur est refusé sans qu'on nous en donne de raison, je vous prie de me dire qui le doit choisir du Roi ou de nous. Il est certain que ce ne sera pas nous. Je me souviens que lorsque Popham fut nommé orateur, il fut refusé, mais on donne pour raison qu'il était malade; depuis celui-là on en refusa encore un autre à cause de la difformité de son corps, mais aucune de ces raisons ne peut être alléguée contre *M. Seymer* dont la personne est approuvée.

Le Sr Thomas Lee. Je ne saurais oublier la manière dont nous nous présentâmes à Sa Majesté pendant le dernier Parlement, dans la crainte que Sa Majesté ne fût en danger de sa personne. Cependant nous ne reçûmes aucune réponse pendant toute une semaine depuis un lundi jusques à l'autre que nous fûmes prorogés contre notre attente et ensuite cassés, en nous y attendant encore moins; je m'imagine que celui qui donna cet avis a encore donné celui de refuser un orateur sans donner aucune raison du refus qu'on en fait. Mais je ne consentirais point à perdre aucun des privilèges de mon pays qui m'a choisi pour les défendre.

M. Burck [Colonel Birch]. Celui qui a donné cet avis en donnera encore d'autres, je vous en donne ma parole, et ce ne sont que des os que l'on sème à dessein de faire naître des querelles et de causer de la division parmi nous. Je crois que nous n'aurions pas pu obliger davantage Sa Majesté qu'en choisissant un des conseillers du Conseil Privé qui eût été dans les bonnes grâces de Sa Majesté, et qui aurait

possédé de grandes charges sous ses ordres. Outre cela je sais qu'après que nous eûmes choisi M. Seymer, il alla trouver Sa Majesté à Withal [Whitehall], pour l'en informer, qui approuva fort le choix qu'on en avait fait. Je demande à M. Seymer si cela n'est pas vrai. Mais ce dangereux avis a été donné depuis ce temps-là par quelqu'un que j'appréhende qu'il n'approche trop la personne du Roi et qu'il n'ait causé ce changement si prompt. Je ne dirai rien à présent des prérogatives: mais songeons à nous séparer.

M. Powle [Powell]. C'est une chose honteuse que le moindre incident nous fasse broncher. Il faut que cet avis vienne de quelques personnes qui sont trop proches de celle du Roi, et que nous devons craindre; nous devrions nous accorder. Je veux croire qu'il n'y a pas un homme ici qui représente son pays qui appréhende de parler hardiment en faveur de ceux qui lui ont confié leurs intérêts, ni qui craigne d'être cassé demain pour maintenir les droits de ceux qui l'ont choisi pour venir ici prendre séance pour eux; je ne prétends pas toucher aux prérogatives, ni consentir à rien qui puisse préjudicier à la liberté de mon pays. Ne faisons rien de trop précipité et sans le bien considérer, et séparons-nous jusqu'à demain neuf heures du matin.—A quoi la Chambre a consenti.¹

We see that the French envoy sent to his government reports of two kinds: some consist of hardly more than a list of business transacted and decisions agreed to²; others, rather less numerous, give us abstracts of the debates, with the names of the members who took part in them, and the general sense of the arguments.³ We shall find both kinds of reports in the correspondence of the eighteenth century.

II.

Before we quote them and compare them with the other texts, we must first clear up several points. About what time did these reports become customary, and to what degree were they so? What is their form? Above all, how were they drawn up, and how far can we trust them?

Down to 1733 they were sent intermittently and rather exceptionally. The bodies of "news from London", frequent mention of which is made in the *Inventaire*, and which were contained in separate *bulletins* sent along with the weekly despatches, are but

¹ Cf. Grey's *Debates of the House of Commons from 1667 to 1697*, VI. 405-408. The men are the same, and speak in the same order. But the arguments are not always put in the same mouth. In Grey's *Debates* it is Sir Thomas Clarges (instead of Birch) who relates Seymour's conversation with the King; and it is Powell (instead of Garroway) who mentions the case of a speaker whose election the sovereign refused to sanction on account of his physical unfitness.

² A series of these, almost completely preserved, will be found in vol. 170 of the *Correspondance Politique* (1689), ff. 28-31, 90-92, 189-191, 195-196, 226-230, 242-246, 264, 310-314, 337-338, etc.

³ He sent also an abridgment of acts recently passed. Cf. *ibid.* vol. 133, ff. 319 et seqq.

abridged translations of the British newspapers¹; they contain, as did the newspapers themselves, short references to parliamentary business. They are altogether uninteresting, being a mere reproduction of English texts which it is easy for us to read in the original. The same remark applies to the speeches from the throne and to the addresses of both Houses to the King, the genuine text of which is to be found in the *Journals* of the Lords and Commons.² More interesting things will be found in the letters written by the ambassadors and *chargés d'affaires*, concerning the most important debates, and especially those which related to diplomatic questions: for instance, Count de Broglie, when difficulties were raised about the works in Dunkirk harbor, kept the French government informed of the discussions in the House of Commons, and of Sir Robert Walpole's endeavors to quiet the effervescence of opinion. He wrote in a letter dated February 22, 1730³:

La Chambre basse s'est assemblée hier pour examiner l'état de la nation, mais au lieu de traiter cette affaire, M. de Poltenay [*sic*] et le chevalier de Windam ont parlé sur Dunkerque. M. le chevalier Walpole, qui ne s'y attendait pas, et qui n'était point préparé pour y répondre, voulut prendre la chose en riant, et dit à M. le chevalier Windam que s'étant assemblés pour examiner l'état de la nation, c'était apparemment pour rire qu'il proposait cette question. A quoi le chevalier répondit que la chose était assez importante pour l'avantage et la sécurité de la nation pour que l'on traitât cette affaire sérieusement et à fond, et commença par dire qu'il avait six témoins à la porte de la Chambre qui affirmeraient par serment qu'il entraît à présent dans l'ancien port de Dunkerque des vaisseaux de 500 tonneaux, qu'il y avait deux bataillons en garnison, qui, joints avec les habitants, travaillaient jour et nuit à accommoder ce port; que l'on avait arraché tous les pieux que les Anglais y avaient enfoncés en comblant le port, et qui si l'on laissait continuer les Français à travailler, ce port leur serait encore bien plus nuisible à l'avenir qu'il ne l'avait été par le passé, puisqu'il serait beaucoup meilleur; que c'était agir directement contre le traité d'Utrecht; qu'étant d'aussi fidèles alliés que l'on nous avait

¹ Especially of the *London Gazette*, *Fog's Weekly Journal*, and the *Craftsman*. Some copies of these papers are preserved among the manuscript letters and reports.

² The French ambassador De Broglie sends to the court of Versailles in 1730: 1st, the speech from the throne at the opening of the session, delivered on January 13/24, 1729/30, vol. 369, f. 78; 2d, the Lords' address, *ibid.* 82; that of the House of Commons, *ibid.* 87; 3d, the speech from the throne in closing the session, May 15/26, 1730, vol. 370, ff. 84-86.

³ Vol. 369, ff. 203-204. See also the letter of February 27 and the undated despatch beginning thus: "L'affaire de Dunkerque, Monsieur, a été débattue à la Chambre des Communes le vendredi dernier 10 de ce mois. La séance commença à 10 heures du matin et dura jusqu'à près de 4 heures après minuit." *Ibid.* 237, 241, 303 *et seqq.* A briefer report is found in a letter of the *chargé d'affaires* Chammorel, of the same date, February 22. *Ibid.* 207.

vantés à la Chambre Haute de l'être, nous ne pourrions pas refuser de remettre toutes choses à Dunkerque dans l'état qu'il avait été réglé par le traité d'Utrecht, et qu'en cas de refus, bien loin de nous regarder comme leurs bons amis et alliés, il fallait nous regarder comme leurs plus grands ennemis. M. de Poltenay appuya aussi fortement ce discours, et M. de Walpole ne put répondre autre chose, sinon que M. Amstrume [Armstrong] avait été chargé par le roi d'Angleterre il y a quelques mois d'aller visiter le port de Dunkerque; qu'ainsi il n'y avait que lui qui en pût rendre compte, mais que par malheur il l'avait envoyé en France pour y travailler à un projet d'exécution, et que d'abord qu'il serait revenu, il se rendrait à la Chambre. A quoi M. de Poltnay et M. Ouvindham [Wyndham] répondirent qu'on devait avoir le rapport de M. Amstrum par écrit, et qu'ainsi il n'y avait qu'à le communiquer à la Chambre sans remettre une affaire de cette importance à son retour. Le débat dura jusqu'à huit heures du soir, et on a remis à demain à traiter cette affaire. La Chambre en général a paru approuver les raisons du parti opposé, ce qui a empêché M. de Walpole de demander que l'on allât aux voix, craignant que la pluralité ne fût pas de son côté.

From 1732 the reports of debates were sent with the political correspondence, not at long intervals but very frequently, once, twice, and as often as three times a week.¹ We must bear in mind that about that time the French were just beginning to understand something of England. Voltaire's *Philosophical Letters*, first published in the English language, were translated into French in 1734. Montesquieu was pondering over his theory of constitutional monarchy, the example of which he found in England. On the other hand, never had the power of Parliament been so great as in the time of Walpole, under the foreign dynasty of Hanover. Never had its debates been more passionate and interesting; and the reports in the *Gentleman's* and *London Magazines*, being much fuller than those formerly given by the *Political State of Great Britain* and the *Historical Register*, allowed the British public to follow the proceedings more closely than they had done up to that time. No wonder if the French envoys paid more attention than before to what appeared to be the main factor in English political life.

In 1738 and in the following years the "Journal du Parlement" was drawn up every third day, and the ambassador or the *chargé d'affaires* did not fail to give a regular notice of its forwarding. A number of letters begin thus: "Sir—I have the honor to send

¹ Cf. in 1733 the reports dated April 20 (debate on the excise duties, in the House of Commons) and April 27 (same in the House of Lords), vol. 380, ff. 80, 128; in 1735, the reports dated February 8, 12, 13, 14, 20, 28, 29, old style (debates on the address, the election of the representative peers of Scotland, the treaty of subsidies with Denmark, the number of the land and sea forces, the recruiting service, etc.), vol. 390, ff. 143-151, 153-158, 182-186, 245-247, 251-259, 270-275, 300-302, 337-341, 342-351, etc.

you herewith the journal of proceedings in Parliament during the first—or the last—three days of this week.”¹ Often enough the minister acknowledges the receipt of it, in terms by which we can realize how much he was interested in the parliamentary reports. In the beginning they were read very eagerly. Amelot, on February 16, 1738, wrote to the Count de Cambis:

I am much obliged to you for the translation you sent to me of the King of England's speech at the opening of the session, and of the addresses from both Houses. All these papers seem to betoken a very quiet session. I hope you will be well informed about the business there and that you will be so kind as to keep me informed of it.²

It would be a mistake to think that their curiosity was confined to the debates concerning foreign affairs. In the volumes perused by the writer, he has found many reports upon merely British questions.³ But the attention which the French diplomatists or their government paid to the home affairs of England was not always kept up. In May, 1768, while the most exciting incidents of the famous Middlesex election were going on, a French agent wrote: “I will not send you the whole report of the Commons' transactions on Mr. Wilkes's case. It seems to me too long, and in its form too tedious for a Parisian to read.”⁴

Such indifference or intermitting neglect is undoubtedly one of the causes explaining the frequent, and in some cases rather wide, gaps in the series. But there are other causes, and by pointing them out we shall enable the reader to form a more accurate idea of what is lacking.

¹ Letters from Count de Cambis to Amelot, dated February 13, 20, April 17 and 24, 1738, vol. 397, ff. 108, 138, vol. 398, ff. 48, 62; from Count de Vismes to Amelot, March 17, April 1, 4, 7, and 11, 1740, vol. 407, ff. 208, 262, 265, 282, 284; from Duke de Lévis-Mirepoix to Marquis de Puyzieulx, February 18, 22, 25, March 1, 1751, vol. 431, ff. 135 *et seq.*; from Count du Châtelet to Choiseul, December 9, 1768, vol. 482, f. 103, etc.

² Vol. 397, f. 89 (minute). Further down, f. 235, is a letter of thanks from Amelot, in which he asks for the continuation of a report (debate on the Spanish depredations in America).

³ One may mention, in 1733, the reports of the debates on the excise duty (vol. 380, ff. 80, 128–129) and on the settlement of the South Sea Company (*ibid.* 233–239); in 1735, the reports of debates on the elections (vol. 391, ff. 103, 108, 120–129); on the salt duty (*ibid.* 155–156); on a bill empowering the government to take £1,000,000 out of the sinking fund for the needs of the current year (*ibid.* 136–139, 192–197); in 1738, the reports of the debates “on the bill for establishing a more effective punishment of mutiny in the army and for better providing for the troops' quarters and pay of the troops” (vol. 397, ff. 240–243); in 1751, the report of “the debate for and against the fourteenth clause of the Regency Bill, concerning the prorogation of Parliament, discussed in Committee on Friday, May 27” (vol. 431, ff. 457, 463); etc.

⁴ W. Wolff to the French Foreign Office, May 20, 1768, vol. 484, f. 187.

First of all, a certain number of reports which consisted of as many detached pieces have simply been lost. It is very likely that at the Foreign Office they were sometimes laid aside while the rest of the correspondence was being classed. The letters of the Duke de Lévis-Mirepoix, for instance, frequently give notice of the sending of such documents,¹ which cannot now be found either in the place where they should be, or in the *Suppléments*, or in the *Mémoires et Documents*, among which they might have slipped inadvertently. Through whole volumes of the political correspondence, the reports of parliamentary debates are thus missing, though by unquestionable proofs they are shown to have once been in existence.

During two periods, each of which extends over several years—from 1742 to 1748 and from 1756 to 1763—their absence can be otherwise accounted for. The interruption of relations between France and England during the struggle about the Austrian succession and the Seven Years' War had put an end to regular diplomatic correspondence. As long as the two nations were at war, the court of Versailles did not get information on English affairs except by letters from secret agents, which were sent privately and by indirect ways. Chiquet and Du Tilly, who were in charge of that service in the years 1745–1746, directed their letters “to Mademoiselle du Verger, at Leyden”, and “to Monsieur de Beauval, at Delft”; thence they came into the hands of the French envoy in the Netherlands, Abbé de la Ville.² They were as a rule rather short and gave but scanty intelligence on the proceedings in Parliament, among all sorts of news. Occasionally they would include an abstract of an address or of a motion, but without any account of the debates to which they had led. In fewer instances they would give the names of one or two members, with the general meaning of their

¹ “Je joins ici le journal des dernières séances du Parlement, avec l'état des subsides accordés, un extrait des débats du Parlement sur la proposition faite pour l'entretien des matelots, et le plan proposé et accepté dans la dernière assemblée des intéressés dans la Compagnie du Sud pour la réduction des intérêts.” Letter dated February 18, 1751, vol. 431, f. 135. “Il y a eu de grands débats dans la Chambre des Communes lorsqu'il a été question de passer le bill pour le paiement des subsides accordés à l'électeur de Bavière. Le parti de l'opposition a vivement contrarié le projet de la cour pour l'élection d'un roi des Romains, mais celui de la cour l'a emporté par une majorité de 94 contre 55. J'aurai l'honneur de vous envoyer ce qui a été dit de part et d'autre dans cette occasion.” Letter dated March 11, 1751, vol. 431, f. 202. Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 151, 165, 174; vol. 435, ff. 286, 300, 320, etc.

² Vol. 419, ff. 98, 99, 109, 111, etc. The writers' names were added at the beginning of each letter after it had been received. In the same way the secret agents in 1756–1763 sent their letters *via* Flushing (cf. vols. 442–446).

speeches.¹ In one instance we have found among them a series of detached reports concerning Lord Lovat's trial in the House of Lords.²

In time of peace, when nothing stood in the way of regular intercourse, difficulties of another kind now and then arose. The repeated attempts of both Houses to stop the publication, though the Houses had finally to abandon them, often resulted in making far from easy the work of those who collected information for the French embassy. Count de Cambis wrote on February 13, 1738:

I almost despair of being able to send you the debates and speeches in both Houses. The compliance by which we were enabled to procure them in the days of M. de Chavigny and M. de Bussy³ is now absolutely forbidden, owing to the strict orders given this year to let nobody in when they are transacting business. If I can find nevertheless any practicable means to procure them, I will spare no trouble or expense, but I am convinced that I shall succeed only by dint of money, for the men who report the debates have to pay a dear price for the ushers' compliance, and to employ several copyists who cost them much.

It is still likely that such difficulties, which never stopped the editors of the magazines, cannot account for all the gaps we have noticed in the series of reports. In the course of that same year, 1738, in spite of all orders, Cambis managed to send to Versailles the report of the most important debates, namely, of the debates in the House of Commons of February 3/14, on the number of the land forces; of March 28/April 8, on the same question; and of May 15/26, on the occasion of a bill moved by Mr. Pulteney, concerning captures at sea.⁴

Thus a number of documents relating to the English parliamentary debates, which ought to be among the records of the French Foreign Office, are now missing, either because they were not regularly forwarded, or because the people for whom they were intended did not care to keep them after they had read them. The greatest gaps are those connected with periods of war. They are particularly to be deplored: from 1758 to 1768 the scarcity of documents collected by the editors of the *Parliamentary History* makes us anxious to bring to light new sources of information. Unfortunately the records at the Quai d'Orsay cannot supply us with any intelligence concerning that period.

¹ Pitt's speech in the letter dated February 5, 1745 (vol. 419, ff. 103 *et seqq.*); Sir John Barnard's and Pelham's speeches, in the letter dated April 1, 1746 (vol. 422, f. 136).

² Vol. 423, ff. 106-107, 109-111, 114-116, 117-120.

³ M. de Chavigny, minister plenipotentiary in London from 1731 to 1737. M. de Bussy, sent on an extraordinary embassy to London in 1737, and later (1740) minister plenipotentiary.

⁴ Vol. 397, ff. 118-129; vol. 398, ff. 23-26; vol. 398, ff. 156-157.

The available documents are of two kinds. They assume two different shapes, as they did when they made their first appearance at the time of Barrillon's embassy. Some are mere journals, or rather abstracts of the journals; others are real analytical reports of the debates.

The documents of the first kind are the "*Feuilles-Journales du Parlement*", drawn up every third day, and frequently alluded to in letters sent to France. In some volumes of the *Correspondance Politique*, in which it would be vain to look for detailed reports, one comes across a number of such documents, which consist but of a bare enumeration of the principal matters dealt with in both Houses.¹ Their value, on account of their being so dry, is to us next to nothing. They give us, in fact, nothing that we could not find in the official journals. They were not so devoid of interest when other means of information were wanting. For a long while the news in the gazettes was still shorter; and as to the reports in the magazines, they were issued some time after the debates had taken place, and, moreover, gave an account of the most important debates only. But the growth of the daily press in the second half of the eighteenth century soon made it rather purposeless to send the "*Feuilles-Journales du Parlement*" to Versailles. Count du Châtelet on December 9, 1768, wrote to Choiseul: "I send you with this letter the journals of Parliament for the present week. I did not send them before, because there is nothing in them which you could not find the next day in any gazette. It is an article of expenditure which I found established by my predecessors, and which I always feel sorry to keep up, though it does not cost much."² Choiseul answered: "The sending of the journals of Parliament is an old custom with which you are free to do away if you don't think they are of any use."³ In the following volumes of the *Correspondance Politique* we find no more of those "*feuilles-journales*", but only abstracts of the debates, "*précis des débats*", with which they were before intermingled.

The latter, of course, are the more worthy of attention. By them only can we be supplied with fresh information on the debates of the British Parliament, which may fill up a gap, or help us to point out

¹ For instance, in vol. 412, ff. 5-6, 41-42, 50-51, 66-67, 76-77, 83-84, 94, 102-103, 134-135, 138-139, 149-150, 160-161, 194, 226-227, 243-244, 248-249, 252-253, 258-259, 320-321, 339-341, 342, 386-387, 401-402, 411-412, 419-420. Something like a report will be found, in a few instances, in Bussy's letters to Cardinal Fleury (*cf.* the letter dated February 17, 1741, which gives an account of the sitting held on February 24, when Walpole's dismissal was demanded).

² Vol. 482, f. 103.

³ Note in Choiseul's own handwriting on Count du Châtelet's letter.

defects in the texts generally used. Their shape is that of analytical reports, rather long and full, though usually shorter than the copious reports of the magazines. Nearly all of them are written in French, but there are a few English ones, which we have come across toward the beginning of the series.¹

III.

It is an important and interesting question, how these analytical reports of debates were drawn up. They must be either copies of minutes taken during the debates—which would make them very valuable documents indeed—or translated abridgments of the reports published in the papers and magazines—which would make them hardly worth mentioning.

There can be no doubt about the origin of the "*feuilles-journales*". We can guess where they come from, owing to several passages of the correspondence. They are but abstracts of the official journals, which were communicated to strangers by the clerks of Parliament. We read in a letter dated February 11, 1751:

The journal of the sitting held on Friday 5 inst., which I sent along with my letter of the 8th, No. 9, is inaccurate concerning the motion on the number of seamen for the present year, through the fault of the clerk of the House of Commons, who in his minutes mistook the different motions for each other, attributing to the government the motion for keeping 10,000 men, which on the contrary had been made by the opposition. The mistake, which has since been found out and set right, had caused all those who usually procure the minutes of the parliamentary sittings from the same man to fall into the same error.²

We read also in the margin of a "*Journal du Parlement*", dated December 14, 1768: "The resolutions concerning America are so lengthy that the clerks have not been able to give them this morning, but we shall get them next Tuesday."³ This undoubtedly means the communication of official documents by authentic copies. Such a communication was by no means made in violation of the orders given by both Houses concerning the publication of their debates; it was not their motions and votes they wished to keep secret, but only the detail of the discussions, and the opinions expressed by members. The clerks were consequently allowed to deliver copies of the journals, which the French ambassador procured at a small expense, alluded to in one of the above-quoted letters.

¹ Debate in the House of Commons, on March 16/27, 1733, on the excise bill; in the House of Lords, on May 13/24, 1733, on the South Sea Company; on January 23/February 3, 1735, on the address; on March 6/17, 1735, on Lord Chesterfield's motion concerning Polish affairs. Reports dated April 27, 1733, May 26, 1733, February 12 and March 12, 1735, vol. 380, ff. 128, 233; vol. 390, ff. 182, 356.

² Letter from Lévis-Mirepoix to the French court, vol. 431, f. 117.

³ Vol. 482, f. 133.

But we must now come back to the reports of debates. It is easy enough to show that they were not and could not be borrowed from English publications. They were sent to Versailles in the course of the week following each sitting. The reports in the magazines, on the contrary, were issued much later; several months often elapsed between the day when a debate took place and that on which the report of it was published. It was a matter of precaution with the publishers, who were afraid of prosecution. Several of the debates reported by Dr. Johnson¹ were issued more than a year after their actual date; the last one, dated February 22, 1742/3, is in the number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1743/4. The *London Magazine* generally published its reports within a shorter time; but it is very unusual to find in a month's number a debate of the previous month. The editor, giving in December, 1770, the debate of November 22 on the question of the Falkland Islands, took the trouble to explain that it was an affair of exceptional importance, and that on account of its being so important he had made greater haste than usual to get it published.² It is unlikely that people who desired to keep the French court informed of the progress of business in the British Parliament used stale reports, which were available only two or three months after the debates. The magazines were not used, except in the few occasions when they happened to give immediate information: for instance, the report we have just mentioned was translated literally, and the translation sent to Versailles in the first part of December, 1770.³

Most of the reports now kept at the Affaires Étrangères show by their very contents that they are the work of ear-witnesses. There are some details which could not have been given by persons who were not present. The tone of voices is noticed:

After the King had delivered his speech in the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor reported upon it, after which the Duke of Devonshire said something, but so low that nobody could hear him, and it was supposed that he was speaking in praise of His Majesty's policy; and directly after he moved, in a louder voice, that an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to thank him for his gracious speech from the throne. [Vol. 390, f. 143.] Lord Hindon spoke in such a faint and indistinct voice that it was hardly possible to hear him, and as nobody paid great attention to his speech, all I can say is that he spoke in behalf of the court. [Vol. 397, f. 243.]

These details not only come from an ear-witness, but must be here in their original text; in an indirect or abridged version they would most likely have been left out.

¹ Cf. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, I. 501 et seqq.

² *London Magazine*, 1770, p. 591.

³ *Correspondance Politique*, vol. 484, ff. 518-531.

How did the senders procure the reports of the debates? Did they keep a permanent staff for that purpose, or did they resort to professional reporters, who did not work for them only? They seem to have tried both systems. The reader will remember that M. de Cambis, when he complained of his not being able to get information on parliamentary business as easily as his predecessors, wrote as follows: "I am convinced that I shall succeed only by dint of money, for the men who report the debates have to pay a dear price for the ushers' compliance, and to employ several copyists who cost them much."¹ Agents in the permanent service of the embassy would not be alluded to in these terms; most probably he meant independent reporters, who were paid for each of the reports they brought.²

It may be suggested that they were the men who did the same sort of work for the editors of periodicals. If it were so, our estimation of the documents kept at the French Foreign Office should be much lowered. But the texts show many points of difference which in most instances forbid the hypothesis of a common origin. It is just possible that the embassy did sometimes resort to the reporters who worked for the magazines in order to get certain parliamentary documents before they were printed. In a letter dated March 8, 1768, we read the following lines³:

The bill entitled 'an act for regulating the transactions of the United Company of Merchants trading in the East Indies' . . . was lately read for the third time. As there has been much noise here about that affair, on account of the many persons who hold shares in the East India Company, and as one of my friends has procured for me an abstract of the opponents' manifesto, which up to the present time has been kept secret by order of the House of Lords, but which will be printed in the *Political Register* soon after the dissolution of the present Parliament, I thought you would like to get it beforehand.

But the wording of this letter shows that the person who wrote it was not in direct communication with the editor of the *Political Register*, and was indebted for the document he sent—a protest drawn up in the customary form—to some private correspondent.

¹ Vol. 397, f. 104. And a little further, in a letter dated February 20: "I include . . . an abstract of the debate in the House of Commons on the number of the land forces. I found it rather hard to procure it, since it is now impossible, as I had the honor to let you know, to use the same means as we did in the last few years. However, I hope to get the accounts of other debates in the same way, when the matter debated upon will be worth the while" (*ibid.* f. 138).

² A report dated April 28/May 9, 1735, ends thus: "They promise to get for us the continuation of this debate next week" (vol. 391, f. 160).

³ Vol. 484, f. 18.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the French ambassadors in London employed agents whose special task was to report the debates for them. One of them was present at the sitting of March 12, 1771, when Colonel George Onslow called upon the House to prosecute the printers of newspapers who published reports of the debates¹:

Pendant le cours des débats auxquels cette affaire donna lieu, l'homme que M. l'ambassadeur emploie pour lui rendre compte de ce qui se passe à la Chambre avait trouvé moyen de s'y introduire, mais il s'y vit bientôt remarqué de tous les membres, qui avaient les yeux fixés sur lui et qui chuchotaient à l'oreille l'un de l'autre en le montrant au doigt. Peu de temps après, un des gens de l'huissier vint lui dire qu'il eût à le suivre dans un cabinet particulier. Il n'y fut pas plus tôt qu'il vit arriver le colonel Luttrell avec Milord Burghass [Burghersh]. Le premier de ces membres, après un début d'excuse et d'honnêteté, vint à lui dire qu'il était malheureusement l'objet des soupçons de la Chambre dans la désagréable affaire qu'elle avait alors sous les yeux, qu'on l'accusait d'être la personne qui fournissait aux imprimeurs les débats de la Chambre, qu'il avait le talent de libeller selon ses vues; qu'on lui prêtait d'ailleurs une mémoire prodigieuse qui lui donnait des facilités pour en retenir la meilleure partie, qu'il le félicitait sur des talents aussi rares, mais qu'il le croyait innocent sur les imputations graves qu'il était obligé de lui transmettre de la part de la Chambre. L'étranger répondit que, s'il avait les talents qu'on lui prêtait, il en ferait un meilleur usage que celui dont l'accusait la Chambre, et qu'il serait trop heureux de pouvoir garder pour lui-même un monument aussi précieux que celui des débats du Parlement sur des questions qui intéressent autant la Constitution et les citoyens qui vivent sous ses lois. Il se réclama de plusieurs membres dont il était connu, entra parfaitement dans l'esprit de la majorité en approuvant les poursuites qu'elle faisait entre la licence des imprimeurs, qui méritaient la punition la plus exemplaire, et finit par se laver si bien de cette inculpation, que le colonel, après lui avoir fait beaucoup d'excuses de l'avoir dérangé, voulut absolument le remettre lui-même à sa place, comme une marque de la justification qu'il lui devait. Il voulut cependant encore savoir comment l'homme en question avait pénétré dans la Chambre, malgré la sévérité des ordres. Celui-ci fit un narré si plausible qu'il satisfait encore le colonel sur cet article, sans compromettre l'officier de la Chambre qu'il l'y avait introduit, et qui aurait perdu sa place s'il eût été nommé.

The story is a fine one, supposing it to be true, and much to the credit of its hero's sharpness and presence of mind. It shows that the French ambassador had clever people in his pay, or people at least who knew how to give a fairly good account of themselves.

The minutes taken during the debates were written in English. The correspondence contains frequent mentions of the following kind: "Hereunto annexed are the debates of the House of Commons on Tuesday 8 inst.; they give me hopes of getting those of

¹ Vol. 495, ff. 282-283.

the following Thursday; as soon as I have them, I will get them translated for you."¹

We have already mentioned a few original reports written in English, which we happened to find among the translated documents. But these did not come through the same channel. They were not dated from London, but from Boulogne, where a sort of spying office seems to have been at work in the years 1730 to 1760. Thence they were forwarded to Paris, where one d'Héguerty, whose name we have met often in volumes 390 to 440 of the *Correspondance Politique*, received and translated them.² Who was this man d'Héguerty? His name, in spite of the French spelling, sounds Irish. Some of his correspondents were Irishmen (O'Bryen, *cf.* vol. 390, f. 356). In volumes 54, 78, and 79 of the "*Mémoires et Documents (Fonds Stuart)*" are many letters and memoranda written by him, from which it appears that he was a Jacobite agent, in more or less regular relations with the French court. The fact that two sources of information on English affairs were available at the same time, and that we are now in possession of reports of parliamentary debates from both sources, shows how important such reports were thought to be, and goes far to prove their general accuracy.

IV.

We must now point out how these hitherto unused documents can be turned to account. First of all, we can find among them reports of some debates which are not to be found either in the *Parliamentary History* and the previously printed collections of debates, or in the contemporary periodicals. These latter gave to their readers but a selection of the most important debates of each session. The editors of the *Parliamentary History*, whose chief authority was the magazines, tried to fill up the gaps by means of then unpublished documents, such as the Hardwicke Papers.³ Some of the documents at the French Foreign Office can be used to the same end.

After the Prince of Wales's death in 1751, a bill for organizing the regency, in the event of King George II.'s dying before his grandson's coming of age, was brought before Parliament. Upon

¹ Count de Cambis to Amelot, April 17, 1738, vol. 398, f. 48.

² In 1746 d'Héguerty was holding a correspondence with secret agents in England. *Cf.* vol. 422, ff. 148, 156, 173. In 1751 he sent to the French ambassador a "Present State of Great Britain showing that the English are bent on a War with France", vol. 431, ff. 4-10. He was then living in Paris, Rue de la Vrillière. *Ibid.* 11.

³ *Cf. Parliamentary History*, XIII.-XVI.

that occasion long debates took place in both Houses.¹ The main point was to determine whether the regency should be intrusted to the Princess of Wales alone, or to a council of statesmen and members of the royal family. But that question was not the only one under discussion. The fourteenth clause of the bill stipulated that, on the accession of a king in his nonage, the duration of the then existing Parliament should be *ipso facto* prolonged, in order to avoid the inconvenience of a general election. A debate arose upon this clause in a Committee of the Whole House. The records of the French Foreign Office supply us with a report of it, which, as we can show, is the only one extant²:

Précis des discours et débats pour et contre la [1] 4^e clause du bill de régence, portant prorogation du Parlement, lors de l'examen en Comité le vendredi 27 mai 1751.

Mr. Pelham, Chancelier de l'Echiquier, président du Comité.

Après qu'on eût parcouru la clause 4^e et les suivantes et qu'on eût fait lecture de la 14^e, le Lord Limerick porta la parole et dit qu'il était très convaincu de la solidité des raisons qui avaient déterminé à insérer cette clause dans le bill, parce qu'il était très nécessaire de pourvoir avec toutes les précautions possibles contre tous les inconvénients qui accompagnent une minorité, le gouvernement dans ces temps devant être certainement considéré comme dans son plus faible état, et par conséquent ayant le plus besoin d'assistance du grand conseil de la nation, qui n'est autre que les deux Chambres du Parlement; qu'un nouveau Parlement n'est point en état dans ces circonstances de répondre suffisamment à cet objet, parce qu'on doit supposer que par une nouvelle élection l'on introduira dans la Chambre des Communes un grand nombre de nouveaux membres sans expérience, au lieu que par la continuation du présent Parlement les membres qui le composent ont eu le temps de prendre les connaissances nécessaires pour le bien et l'avantage de leur patrie, et sont plus en état de supporter la Couronne et de l'assister au besoin.

Que d'ailleurs la continuation du Parlement, à laquelle on a eu dessein de pourvoir par le présent bill, est le plus sûr moyen de prévenir toutes les mauvaises conséquences dont peut être suivie dans le commencement d'une minorité une élection générale, circonstance où les partis peuvent plus facilement exciter le trouble et la confusion.

Qu'indépendamment de toutes ces raisons, lorsqu'il considérerait à quel point la présente famille royale sur le trône avait gagné l'amour et l'affection de la nation, sensible aux avantages d'un gouvernement réglé par les lois de l'équité, et les espérances fondées que cette nation devait avoir qu'un successeur élevé dans les mêmes principes fixera à jamais la force de son gouvernement sur sa véritable base, savoir, l'affection de son peuple, il espérait qu'en cas de minorité la régente et le conseil de régence convoqueraient, aussitôt qu'il serait possible, un nouveau Parlement, afin de donner par là à la nation des preuves non seulement de confiance, mais aussi d'attention et de soin à la faire jouir en entier de

¹ Cf. *Parliamentary History*, XIV. 1000 et seqq.

² *Correspondance Politique*, vol. 431, ff. 457-463.

ses libertés et prérogatives, dont la principale est le droit du peuple d'élire des membres pour la représenter et former la Chambre des Communes.

Qu'il avait observé que la clause dont il s'agit, telle qu'elle était exprimée, n'était pas suffisante pour répondre à l'objet que l'on s'en proposait, parce qu'on n'y avait point pourvu contre les inconvénients d'un cas qui pouvait arriver, savoir celui où, au temps que la Couronne passerait à un successeur mineur, il ne se trouverait point alors de Parlement existant, et qu'il croyait qu'il était indispensable de rectifier cette omission en insérant une clause sur ce point; et il proposa qu'elle fut conçue dans les termes dont la traduction a été jointe au bill. Après ce discours l'on mit en délibération si la clause même telle qu'elle était subsisterait et ferait partie du bill, et à cette occasion

Mr. Horace Walpole parla et donna les plus grands éloges aux sages précautions et dispositions dudit bill pour prévenir des temps malheureux et mettre le royaume à l'abri des maux et de ces calamités dont il avait fait la triste expérience dans des minorités, et dit qu'on ne pouvait trop admirer la magnanimité du roi dans cette occasion, sa tendresse paternelle pour ses peuples et sa constante attention pour leur prospérité; que ce prince n'avait pu en donner de preuve plus éclatante que de se résoudre, dans un temps où personne ne lui parlait de rien qui fût relatif aux suites de l'événement de la perte de son fils aîné, parce que c'était un sujet toujours désagréable à traiter, à envoyer son message aux deux Chambres du Parlement; que c'était mal répondre à des bontés si marquées de ce monarque et s'écarter de la juste reconnaissance que toute la nation lui en devait que de débattre dans la Chambre des règlements pour la forme du gouvernement que la prudence avait dictés et qui paraissaient les plus propres pour le bien et la tranquillité de la nation.

Le chevalier Ryder, solliciteur général, parla ensuite, et dit qu'il était surpris de voir qu'on voulût retrancher du bill la clause la plus utile; que tout le monde savait que suivant l'état de la constitution de ce royaume, il était certainement dans son plus grand degré de faiblesse dans le temps d'une élection générale par [*sic*] un nouveau Parlement, et plus particulièrement lorsque le précédent avait été de courte durée avant la dissolution, parce que depuis la Révolution et le présent établissement le Parlement est dans l'usage de s'assembler chaque année pour pourvoir aux besoins de l'Etat, et qu'à ce défaut tout était en danger; qu'on ne pouvait disconvenir sans trahir la vérité qu'un temps de minorité ne soit la plus faible partie du règne d'un prince, fatalité que l'Angleterre avait eu le malheur d'éprouver; qu'il était par conséquent de la plus grande importance de prévenir tout ce qui pourrait rendre encore plus faible le règne d'un mineur et le gouvernement dans cette circonstance. Que par la continuation du Parlement la régente et le Conseil de Régence auraient non seulement l'avis d'un Parlement composé de gens expérimentés, mais qu'ils seraient à l'abri de la confusion et des mauvaises conséquences que peuvent faire naître les partis et les gens malintentionnés dans les temps d'élection d'un nouveau Parlement; que d'ailleurs la nation ayant le temps, durant la continuation du Parlement, d'éprouver la justice et le soin d'un nouveau gouvernement pour ses libertés et biens, serait d'autant plus en état de témoigner son affection et sa fidélité dans l'élection qui suivrait.

Il finit en disant qu'il ne pouvait s'empêcher d'observer, avec les sentiments de la plus parfaite reconnaissance du soin de S. M. pour son peuple en mettant son Parlement en état de pourvoir si à temps contre les inconvénients d'une minorité, que par ces prudentes précautions l'on détruisait toutes les craintes des amis et les espérances des ennemis de la Grande-Bretagne au dedans et au dehors, que la mort du prince de Galles avait fait naître, que l'on assurait à ce royaume même en cas de minorité son bonheur au dedans et cette influence au dehors et cette confiance de la part de ses alliés qui appartiennent si justement à la couronne de la Grande-Bretagne.

Mr. Murray, procureur général, le Lord Hillsborough, le chevalier John Russehaut [Rushout], Mr. York[e], etc., parlèrent aussi en faveur de la clause, et de l'addition proposée.

Mr. Thomas Pitt¹ prit ensuite la parole et s'étendit beaucoup pour prouver qu'un membre de la Chambre en cette qualité a le droit incontestable de contredire, de corriger, observer et débattre tout ce qui est remis devant la Chambre, quoiqu'il soit directement recommandé par la Couronne. Il dit ensuite que tout ce qui avait été allégué par les membres qui avaient parlé en faveur de la clause en question ne lui paraissait ni suffisant, ni convaincant, que tout le portait à voter contre cette clause, qu'on la considérât soit quant au pouvoir, soit quant au droit, ou à la nécessité. Qu'à l'égard du premier, il soutenait qu'il n'était absolument point au pouvoir des membres de la Chambre, élus par le peuple pour le représenter pendant un temps limité et non au-delà de celui prescrit par les lois, de se continuer eux-mêmes en qualité de représentants, aussi longtemps qu'il leur plairait, et de transgresser par là directement leurs commissions, et de priver leurs commettants de leur droit incontestable et reconnu, et porter ainsi atteinte à leurs libertés et à la plus précieuse de leurs prérogatives. Dépouiller ainsi le peuple d'un droit aussi légitime, a-t-il dit, et pourquoi? pour aucune autre fin que de faciliter à une faction ministérielle les moyens de parvenir à ses vues particulières, et de lui conserver, maintenir et continuer cette influence qu'elle a su se procurer dans ce Parlement où l'on peut indifféremment voter pour ou contre elle, et sans aucun effet; qu'il était plus qu'évident qu'elle ne s'était proposé par cette continuation du Parlement d'autre but que de pouvoir prendre à temps des mesures pour se mettre à l'abri du danger d'être recherchée par un nouveau Parlement qui, animé de zèle pour le bien de la patrie, ne pourrait se dispenser de lui demander compte de sa conduite, de sa mauvaise administration dont la nation ressent tant les effets et qui dési[re]rait ardemment de voir cesser une influence qui était si préjudiciable à ses véritables intérêts et par laquelle elle avait été et était continuellement entraînée dans des mesures contraires à son bien-être. Qu'en troisième lieu il n'y avait aucune nécessité pour la continuation du Parlement en cas de minorité, parce qu'il n'y avait dans ce cas aucun danger d'en convoquer un dans un temps permis, 1^o parce que les Jacobites, et ce qui pouvait d'ailleurs se trouver de gens malintentionnés, n'étaient point dans des circonstances propres à inspirer la moindre crainte à leur égard; que la fidélité générale, le zèle et l'affection que les sujets du roi avaient témoignés dans ce royaume pour S. M. et sa famille royale dans la dernière rébellion suffisaient pour convaincre tout le monde du ridicule d'une pareille

¹ N.B. Ce membre était attaché au feu prince de Galles. [Note in original.]

crainte, qui, n'était pas mieux fondée à l'égard des ennemis du dehors. En second lieu, la Régence peut n'avoir pas besoin d'un conseil parlementaire, et il est aisé de détruire tout ce qui a été allégué par rapport au défaut d'expérience des membres qui pourraient être introduits dans un nouveau Parlement. Il n'est pas douteux qu'une grande quantité des anciens membres ne fussent réélus, et il s'en trouverait assurément un nombre suffisant pour mettre dans le bon chemin les nouveaux membres sans expérience qui seraient élus, et l'on doit avec grande raison espérer que cet esprit dépourvu de tout intérêt et préjugé et cette droiture d'intention l'un et l'autre si nécessaires pour le bien de la patrie se feraient plutôt sentir dans un nouveau Parlement qu'autrement.

Qu'au reste toutes craintes sur les inconvénients d'un nouveau Parlement devaient être dissipées, qu'il y avait déjà été pourvu par un acte du Parlement en force, fait dans la seconde année du règne de la reine Anne, qui porte que le Parlement existant à la mort d'un roi ou d'une reine sera immédiatement convoqué, et tiendra ses séances pendant l'espace de six mois à compter du jour d'une telle mort, qu'ainsi la clause en question était à tous égards inutile et contraire aux lois qui subsistent, et de la plus dangereuse conséquence; et pour prouver qu'il n'y avait rien à redouter d'un nouveau Parlement, il rapporta ce qui s'était passé pour la dernière dissolution du Parlement auparavant son expiration, dissolution, dit-il, contre toute règle, et dans un temps où la nation était enveloppée dans une guerre fâcheuse, et gémissait sous les circonstances les plus embarrassantes et les plus tristes.

Il finit par observer que le principal soin dans les commencements d'une minorité était d'assurer à un roi mineur l'amour et l'affection de son peuple, à quoi rien ne pouvait tant contribuer que son étroite observance des lois, et son application à ne porter aucune atteinte aux libertés et prérogatives de ses sujets, en faisant des actes conformes à la constitution; qu'alors il n'y aurait rien à craindre de convoquer un nouveau Parlement dans le temps fixé par l'acte du Parlement ci-dessus mentionné; que tout le monde devait convenir que l'affection des peuples était la plus grande sûreté de la force et de la puissance d'un roi d'Angleterre, mais qu'il ne pouvait être trop attentif à se conserver un bien si précieux, et dit à cette occasion qu'on avait vu par expérience ce que l'amour de l'armée pour le duc de Cumberland avait opéré dans le temps de la dernière rébellion. Et il conclut en disant que son devoir et son amour pour la patrie l'obligeaient par toutes ces raisons à voter contre la clause proposée, qui ne pouvait, en subsistant, qu'altérer l'affection des sujets par l'atteinte qu'elle portait à leurs droits, libertés et prérogatives.

Le jeune Lord Harvey, le D^r Lee, le Lord Strange, Mr. Frazakerly, Mr. Townshend, etc., parlèrent ensuite et firent également valoir les raisons du discours précédent contre la clause.¹

¹The clause was finally carried. It is clause 18 of the act 24 Geo. II. c. 24: in the event of a sovereign's accession taking place before his coming of age, the existing Parliament was to continue during a three years' period, unless the prince came of age in the meantime. However, the prince-regent or princess-regent was empowered to dissolve, but only with the assent of the council of regency. *Statutes at Large*, VII. 358.

The date of Friday, May 27, given in the report as being that of the debate, is erroneous. May 16/27, 1751, was not a Friday, but a Thursday. According to the *Journals* of the House, the succession of the debates was as follows: on Monday, May 13/24, the bill, which had been already carried in the House of Lords, was read for the first time; and it was resolved, that the bill be read a second time on the next day. On Tuesday, May 14/25, the bill was read for the second time; resolved, that the bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House. On Thursday, May 16/27, the Committee of the Whole House met, with the Lord Chancellor Pelham in the chair. On Friday, May 17/28, the House met again; resolved, that the Lord Chancellor report upon the amendments on the following Monday.¹ It is then on Thursday, May 16/27, or on Friday, May 17/28, that the debate on clause 14 must have taken place.

No report of the debate is to be found in the *Parliamentary History*, which gives but the debate of May 13/24² and a speech delivered by William Beckford on May 20/31. The report of the debate is taken from the *London Magazine* for 1751 (pp. 249-259, 297-307, 345-354), Beckford's speech from the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In Almon and Debrett's *Debates and Proceedings of the British House of Commons from 1749 to 1751, 348 et seqq.*, there is no report of the debate, but only a "list of the members who spoke for and against the establishment of a Council of Regency", without any reference to clause 14 and to the interesting debate on its subject of which the French document gives us some account.

In other instances, a report at the *Affaires Étrangères*, if it will not bring to our notice any really unknown fact, will enable us to complete and correct a defective text. The debate of February 8/19, 1735, on the number of seamen, has come to us in one version, which is identically the same in the *London* and the *Gentleman's Magazines*.³ In the report, which is detailed enough, the arguments for and against the increase of the navy are laid out in three speeches: the first speech expounds the government's and the majority's arguments in behalf of an act for raising the number of seamen from 20,000 to 30,000; the second one expresses the objections urged by the opposition; and the third one is a reply to the objections. None of these speeches is put in the mouth of any person in particular; the names of the members who took part in the debate are in a list at the beginning of the report, with a mere

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXVI. 229, 231, 236.

² *Parliamentary History*, XIV. 1000-1057.

³ *Ibid.* IX. 691-719; *London Magazine*, 1735, pp. 457-470; *Gentleman's Magazine*, V. 507-522.

mention of their speaking for or against the bill. They were: for the bill, Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole, and Oglethorpe; against, Sir John Barnard, Sir William Wyndham, Pulteney, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and one Willmot, member for the city of London.¹

The records of the French Foreign Office give us a report of the same debate.² It is impossible to print it here on account of its length: it fills seventeen folios of the Correspondance. But in that report there are no more speeches of the collective type, summing up the opinions of a whole party. Each member speaks in his turn, and thus we are enabled to know the origin of the ideas and sentences put together, according to his fancy, by the writer who arranged the debate for the magazines.

If we compare the two texts, we shall be struck at first by their general likeness. The list of the members who spoke is the same in both documents; for Sir Joseph Jekyll (whose name is mentioned in the magazines) and the Master of the Rolls (who is represented, in the French report, to have spoken after Sir Robert Walpole) are the same person. Any passage taken out of one of the texts will almost infallibly be found in the other one, sometimes in a more or less abridged form, but very often in sentences of the same shape, and even in the same terms.³ But the arrangement of matters is widely different: in the first and third speeches of the magazines we can recognize Horace and Robert Walpole's speeches of the French report, but much altered, as if they had been cut up and the pieces mixed afterward; the beginning of the first speech has been borrowed from Robert Walpole's utterance, the second column from Horace's, and so on. However, each version contains passages which are wanting in the other one: for instance, in the magazines' report, enlargements upon the subject of the affront which the government inflicts upon Parliament by requesting it to load the country with new burdens without allowing it to form a well-

¹ The *Parliamentary History* includes many reports of this type, taken from the magazines. Before 1732 they were hardly ever done otherwise.

² Correspondance Politique, vol. 390, ff. 205-222.

³ *Parl. Hist.*, IX. column 691, and Correspondance Politique, vol. 390, f. 216; col. 694 and f. 219; col. 696-697 and ff. 209-210; col. 700 and f. 206; col. 702 and f. 214; col. 703 and f. 215, etc. The most striking words are textually the same: "that trading protestant city", with regard to Dantzic, col. 700 and f. 218; "the two blundering brothers", "les deux brouillons de frères", when Horace Walpole speaks of the blame that will be cast upon him and his brother, if they allow themselves to be taken unawares by an emergency, col. 714 and f. 207; "a show at Spithead or in the Downs", when an opponent asks what will be the use of an increased navy, col. 700 and f. 205; "as able a minister, and as good a negociator as any we ever had in any part of Europe", when speaking of the British envoy at the Hague, col. 707.

grounded opinion upon the necessity of imposing them (col. 700); some details concerning the Dutch armaments; and in the French report, a part of Willimot's speech on the West-Indian trade and the corn trade (f. 221). The same minutes were very likely used for both reports. But the report of the magazines—which was published in September, eight months after the day of the debate—was remodelled according to a method which we cannot much understand or commend now. It seems that the general account of the facts is sufficiently accurate; as to the form, which was altered by the person who wrote for both magazines, the report of the French embassy restores it, and shows the part taken in the debate by each of the members whose names are on the magazines' list.

It would be easy to draw other comparisons of the same kind. But this would exceed the limits of our present task. The sources of the British parliamentary history for the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century are on the whole far from reliable. We bring to the notice of students new documents of undeniable worth, the series of which, though unluckily incomplete, will afford some solid ground for the foundations of critical work. We have just described them, but a real appreciation of their value cannot be made till many of them have been weighed and tried carefully. This will be done by the students who will make use of them for historical purposes.

It might be worth the while to look for similar documents in the diplomatic records of other states, more particularly in those of Holland and Prussia. It is not impossible that we may find there the scattered elements of a new collection of the English parliamentary debates, the first fragments of which we now bring to light.

PAUL MANTOUX.

PROOF THAT COLUMBUS WAS BORN IN 1451: A NEW DOCUMENT

It is well known that neither Columbus nor his first two biographers, his son Ferdinand and Las Casas, have mentioned the date of his birth, though all three speak of his studies, his voyages, and his nautical experiences in a manner which leaves it to be supposed that his life was a long one and that he had spent much time in preparing himself for the discovery he was to make. It is on this account that particular interest attaches to the date of the birth of Columbus, and this explains why so much ink has been shed to clear up this obscure point. Columbus having left us only contradictory statements respecting his age at different periods of his life,¹ while his two biographers have said nothing to enlighten us on the subject, criticism has been compelled to seek elsewhere for information, and has fortunately discovered in the notarial archives of Genoa and Savona, towns where Columbus spent his youth, documents which make up for the reticence of those from whom we had the right to expect authentic information on so important a fact.

These documents, dated from 1470 to 1473, supply indeed the material required for solving this problem. Unfortunately those who first studied them did so from a point of view which obscured rather than cleared up the question.

Inasmuch as these papers—with one exception, and that was only discovered later than the others—do not mention in precise terms the age of Columbus, it was thought possible to fix it approximately from the nature of the deed in which mention was made of the future Admiral. Thus, after having ascertained that the Genoese legal code of the period recognized four different majorities (those of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty-five years, each one of which limited the minor's legal rights within certain defined restrictions), the deduction was drawn that, according to the purport of the deed to which Columbus was a party, he must necessarily have one or the other of the majorities admitted by the law. For instance, on August 26, 1472, Columbus, with the authorization of his parents, signs a deed whereby he renders himself responsible

¹ They have all been quoted in our essay, *The Real Birth-Date of Columbus* (London, 1903), and in the third of our *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (Paris, 1905).

for a debt¹; therefore, so we are told, he was not then twenty-five years of age, for, had he attained those years, he would not have required their permission; consequently he was born less than twenty-five years before that date, in other words, after August 26, 1447.

Again, on August 7, 1473,² Columbus authorizes his mother to consent to a sale which his father wishes to make; this proves, so it is alleged, that he had attained then the great majority of twenty-five years, as otherwise he could not have given the said authorization, whence it follows that he was born before August 7, 1448.³ If Columbus was not twenty-five years of age on August 26, 1472, but was so on August 7, 1473, he was necessarily born between August 26, 1447, and August 7, 1448.

Yet another calculation. On May 25, 1471,⁴ Columbus was not twenty-five years of age, because on that date his mother legally binds herself without his intervention. On March 20, 1472,⁵ he witnesses a will; therefore he had then attained the great majority, and consequently he was born between May 25, 1446, and March 20, 1447.⁶

The error in these apparently very clear and simple demonstrations is that they are based on questionable data. It is not by any means clear that it was because he was a minor that Columbus required the authorization of his parents in order to render himself liable for a debt in August, 1472.⁷ It is not satisfactorily established that Columbus on August 7, 1473, intervened without the sanction of his father, for the very nature of the deed then in question presupposes in fact that sanction.⁸ It does not follow from the fact that his mother on May 25, 1471, agreed to the sale of property under her marriage settlement without her son's consent that he was not then of a legal age to give it. In addition to the point's being obscure in itself, Columbus may have been absent at the time. Finally, the fact that he witnessed a will on March 20, 1472,

¹ *Documenti relativi a Cristoforo Colombo*, no. 44, in *Raccolta Colombiana*, part II., vol. 1, also in our *Real Birth-Date*, p. 18, and in our *Études*, p. 220.

² *Documenti*, no. 51; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 19; *Études*, p. 221.

³ Desimoni, *Quistioni Colombiane*, in *Raccolta*, part II., vol. 3, p. 23.

⁴ *Documenti*, no. 38; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 15; *Études*, p. 219.

⁵ *Documenti*, no. 41; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 16; *Études*, p. 220.

⁶ *Harrisse, Christophe Colomb*, I. 227.

⁷ According to the Genoese law of 1414 this authorization was required at any age, so long as regular emancipation had not been granted. Desimoni, *Quistioni*, p. 33; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 25; *Études*, p. 224.

⁸ See *Real Birth-Date*, pp. 61-63, and *Études*, pp. 244-246.

does not prove that he was then major, for it was perfectly legal in similar cases to act as witness although still a minor.¹

From the above brief observations, which are here merely indicated but which have been fully developed elsewhere, it may be seen that the data which have been employed to fix approximatively the age of Columbus at certain dates are wanting in consistency. If they were absolutely fixed and certain, the conclusions to be drawn from them would not be contradictory; which, however, is the case, inasmuch as it follows from them that Columbus, who was not twenty-five years old on August 26, 1472, had already attained that age on March 20 of that same year.

None of the documents which have been quoted in the above calculation mentions definitely the actual age of Columbus. But in 1887 one was discovered which gave this valuable information; the deed in question is the one bearing the date of October 31, 1470, wherein Columbus is described as then being over nineteen years of age. This document in fact completely destroyed all the fine quibbling which tended to prove that Columbus was born before such and such a date and after such and such another; but, unfortunately, those who had so exercised their ingenuity, instead of yielding to the force of the new evidence, sought only to make it fit in with their preconceived theories. The argument they adopted was the following: the deed of October 31, 1470, reads, "Christopher Columbus, son of Domenico, of more than nineteen years accomplished" ("*Christofforus de Columbo filius Dominici, major annis decemnovem*").² Well, then, this we are assured does not mean what it says: *major annis decemnovem*, more than nineteen years of age, or of nineteen years fully, or of nineteen years accomplished; no, what this really means is: more than nineteen years of age but not yet twenty-five³; that is to say, that Columbus may then have been twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, or twenty-four years of age at the date this deed was signed. All therefore that can be deduced from this deed, according to this argument, is that Columbus could not have been born before October 31, 1445, because otherwise he must have been twenty-five years of age on October 31, 1470, and consequently dispensed from requiring the authorization of his father; or, that he could not have been born after

¹ HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, I. 227.

² See the text in *Documenti*, no. 34, and here in the appendix.

³ "The expression used here means that Columbus had attained the majority of nineteen years, and not yet that of twenty-five." HARRISSE, *Christopher Columbus and the Bank of St. George* (New York, 1888), p. 89, note 4. See also *Christophe Colomb devant l'Histoire* by the same author (Paris, 1892), p. 65.

October 31, 1451, as in that case he would not have been more than nineteen years of age at the date of the aforesaid document.

The error of this reasoning is so evident that it is simply astonishing that the argument could ever have been for a moment maintained. Had it indeed been that the laws of Genoa recognized a particular majority of nineteen years (as they did in fact admit majorities of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and of twenty-five years), it might have been legitimate to argue that the phrase *major annis decemnovem* meant what it is sought to read into it. But such is not the case, nor does any one claim that it is so; on the contrary, all the authorities are agreed upon the point that the laws of Genoa make no mention of a majority of nineteen years. It follows therefore, as clearly as day follows night, that if Columbus had then been twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, or twenty-four years of age, instead of nineteen, the notary would have so stated. Why, otherwise, should he have hit upon nineteen years of age unless that was actually the age of Columbus?¹

We do not possess a single deed of the Genoese notaries of the time wherein mention of the age does not state the actual age of the individual mentioned therein. For instance, when one of these notaries writes in a deed, dated September 10, 1484, referring to Jacopo or Giacomo Colombo, "*major annis sexdecim, juravit*", it is clear he wished to make evident that this younger brother of Columbus was then fully of sixteen years of age, because he adds that he has made him swear that such is the case. Had Jacopo been

¹ It is curious to note that M. Desimoni, who may be considered as the inventor of the four-majorities theory, admits that the declaration of age is only a means of verifying the identity of the contracting parties. *Quistioni*, p. 37. M. Ugo Assereto, who has studied this question from the legal point of view, makes the observation that when it was a question of verifying the fact that the contracting party had attained one of the legal majorities—the majority of nineteen years, for instance, which conveys the right of undertaking the engagement stipulated in the deed—the formula usually employed runs: *minor annis viginti-quinque major tamen annis decemocto* (of less than twenty-five years but of more than eighteen years). M. Assereto explains that very seldom in notarial engagements is mention made of an age intermediate between two majorities, such as those of eighteen and twenty-five years, and that when it does take place "it is to bring into prominence that the contracting party being older than eighteen, the age strictly required to validate his action, should for a greater reason be presumed to have a knowledge of the importance of the engagements he is undertaking". This judicious critic concludes, as we have ourselves done, that every time when "in a notarial deed it is stipulated that one of the contracting parties is older than nineteen, is older than twenty, is older than etc., we may be sure that he is not yet twenty, or twenty-one, etc., for, were it otherwise, there would have been every reason for mentioning the second age rather than the first." "*La Data della Nascita di Colombo*", in *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, La Spezia, January-February, 1904, pp. 6-7.

then of a different age, he would not have sworn he was at that time sixteen.¹ The deed of 1508, wherein Zerega, indicating his age, says "maggiore di quarant'anni",² and the one in which Pantolino Bavarello, the son of Columbus's sister, owns to twenty-seven years³ have exactly the same bearing.

This was the state of the question when the author of these lines published, in 1903, his essay, *The Real Birth-Date of Columbus: 1451*,⁴ an essay reproduced later in French in our *Études Critiques*,⁵ wherein are set forth at length the views here summarily stated, with the texts bearing thereon; whence it may be gathered that the deed of October, 1470, gives the exact age Columbus then had; and whereby his birth is determined as coming between October 31, 1450, and October 31, 1451.⁶

But when we made this demonstration the only document then known which could efficiently support our argument was the one of 1470, and, as Columbus was still a minor in 1470, those who clung to the four-majorities theory had still a pretense for arguing

¹ *Documenti*, no. 68. MM. Desimoni and Lollis both admit that this deed signifies that Jacopo was then a little over sixteen years of age.

² M. Desimoni, who himself gives this example, refers also to the mention of the phrase *major annorum XXII*, which he has found, and which, according to him, merely indicates the actual age because there existed no legal majorities of forty and of twenty-two years. *Quistioni*, p. 37.

³ *Documenti*, no. 111.

⁴ *A Critical Study of the Various Dates assigned to the Birth of Christopher Columbus. The Real Date 1451. With a Bibliography of the Question* (London, Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles, 1903).

⁵ *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (Paris, Welter, 1905, pp. 544). This volume, as the colophon shows, left the printer on January 30, 1905.

⁶ We think it only right to repeat here, as we have already stated elsewhere, that we were not the first to seize the real significance of this document. Already in 1892 Mr. Richard Davey had called attention to it (*The National Review*, London, October, 1892, pp. 219, 222); and in that same year M. Asensio, in discussing it, had implicitly admitted that it must be construed as we have construed it, though he raised the difficulty that the *Christofforus de Columbo filius Dominici* of the deed in question may not have been our Columbus (*Cristóbal Colón*, Barcelona, [1891], I. 216). In 1900 M. González de la Rosa boldly declared to the Americanist Congress that it followed from this document that Columbus was born in 1451; but we are the first who subjected this notarial act to a detailed critical examination, and who showed that it really means that Columbus had fully accomplished nineteen years of life in 1470. In 1904, about a year after the publication of our English memoir on this point, M. Assereto repeated the same demonstration in the article quoted below; and, inasmuch as he does not refer to us, we must believe he had not seen our work, although it raised some discussion at the time. Our argument is summed up in pages 95-101 in the English volume and in pages 26-63 in the French. In 1902, in our *Toscanelli and Columbus* (London, Sands and Company), pp. 262-263, we had already given the result of our studies on this point.

that the notary, in recording the fully nineteen years of Columbus, wished only to indicate thereby that he had already passed the legal majority of eighteen years, without, however, having yet attained the majority of twenty-five. To-day the position is altered. Another document has been discovered which also gives the age of Columbus; but this later discovery no longer lends itself to the support of the meaning it was sought to give to the deed of October 31, 1470.

This deed, which M. Assereto had the good fortune to find among the notarial archives of Genoa, and which he made public in February, 1904,¹ is dated August 25, 1479, and contains a deposition made by Columbus (who was then fixed at Lisbon but was passing through Genoa) in which he states that he was at that time aged about twenty-seven years.² Here, at any rate, there can be no misunderstanding. It is the notary himself who asks Columbus what his age may be and who writes down his reply, wherein the word *major*, the origin of so many difficulties, does not occur, thus closing the door to all ambiguity that might have arisen from the expression "major of twenty-seven years"; which in itself, however, could scarcely have led to confusion, inasmuch as the legislation of the period nowhere recognizes a later majority than that of twenty-five.

When therefore Columbus said he was twenty-seven years of age or thereabouts, he could have meant to say only what the phrase itself indicates, that he was either a little more or a little less than the age indicated; and this in the first case would fix his birth toward the end of 1451, and in the second toward the beginning of 1452. But the point which is here left in doubt is fortunately cleared up by the deed of 1470, which demonstrates that it is in the first sense that we must interpret the declaration of Columbus; for according to the wording of that document he was over nineteen years of age on October 31, 1470, which would have been impossible if on August 25, 1479, he had not passed his twenty-seventh year.³

The two deeds thus complete one another and enable us to cir-

¹ Ugo Assereto, "La Data della Nascita di Colombo accertata da un Documento Nuovo", *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, January-February, 1904.

² "Interrogatus quottannis est . . . Respondit quod est etatis annorum viginti septem vel circa." ("Being asked what was his age . . . he replied that he was twenty-seven or thereabouts".) See the deed in the appendix.

³ M. Assereto remarks, on this point, that according to custom the witness mentioned the number of years he had accomplished already, so that when Columbus declares he is twenty-seven or thereabouts he intends to convey that he was over twenty-seven but not yet twenty-eight years of age. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

circumscribe within closer limits the period within which Columbus must have been born. Quite clearly, if on October 31, 1470, he was more than nineteen years old, and if on August 25, 1479, he was more than twenty-seven and less than twenty-eight, he must first have seen the light of day within the two months and five days comprised between August 26 and October 31, 1451.¹

The deed of 1479 therefore definitely settles the question of the date of the birth of Columbus. From whatever point of view we may consider the matter, it is impossible to deny the conclusion to which this deed leads when it is placed beside the deed of 1470, and we may now set forth with full assurance that it was only during either the month of September or that of October, 1451, that Columbus was born.

Without dwelling upon this point, it is well to observe that this important date in the life of Columbus is not the only point which modern criticism has successfully determined. Since 1892, thanks to Salvagnini's researches, we also know that it was only in 1476 that Columbus first landed in Portugal, and to this information we may now add that he was then twenty-five years of age. We know also from his own notes and from Las Casas that it was in the beginning of 1485 that he passed into Spain, and we have the proof that he quitted no more the Spanish peninsula until he set sail in 1492 from the port of Palos.

All these facts, henceforth indisputable, are very suggestive; but this is not the occasion to point out the conclusions which may be drawn from them, and we shall merely ask the careful and unprejudiced reader if they can be reconciled with Columbus's repeated assertions that he had sailed for twenty-three years²; that he had crossed all the known seas³; and that for over forty years he had studied the secrets of nature.⁴ We shall furthermore ask him if it be not permitted to say from all this that Columbus had a personal interest in pretending to be older than he was, and also if we do not find here a natural explanation of the fact, otherwise so extraordinary, that he who was so prolix and so fond of talking about himself never mentioned the date of his birth; that all his statements bearing upon his age are contradictory; that his son who

¹ As we do not wish to expose ourselves to the reproach of failing to render to M. Assereto the credit due to him, we think it right to say that he has drawn the same conclusions as we have ourselves from the two deeds in question; indeed no other alternative was possible. *Ibid.*

² The Log-Book, December 21, 1492.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Letter of 1501 quoted by Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie* (Venice, 1571), p. 8, and by Las Casas, *Historia* (Madrid, 1875-1876), I., chap. 3, p. 47.

wrote his life maintains silence on this point; and that Las Casas, who possessed all the family papers and who was personally acquainted with the principal members of the Columbus family, also refrains from saying a word upon the subject.

The document discovered by M. Assereto also gives some new information upon Columbus. We find therein an authentic verification, the first we possess, that he was in Lisbon in July, 1478, and was having business transactions with that same Paulo di Negro who later appears in his will; that at this period he made a commercial voyage to Madeira, a place it was not known for certain that he had visited; that the following year he was at Genoa, whither it was not known he had returned, and where he was then still considered to be a citizen of that town, which leads to the supposition that he was still unmarried in August, 1479, and had not yet in a permanent manner fixed himself in Portugal, for Las Casas tells us that his marriage and settling down in that country made him to be looked upon as a Portuguese.

HENRY VIGNAUD.

APPENDIX

We give below the essential passages of the two deeds of 1470 and 1479. The other portions of these documents, which are both of considerable length, have no bearing on the question under discussion.

- I. *Christopher Columbus, aged nineteen full years, with the authorization of his father Domenico admits that he is the debtor of Pietro Bellesio, Genoa, October 31, 1470.*¹

In nomine Domini, amen. Christofforus de Columbo filius Dominici, major annis decemnovem, et in presentia, auctoritate, consilio et consensu dicti Dominici ejus patris presentis et autorizantis, sponte et ex ejus certa scientia et non per aliquem errorem juris vel facti, confessus fuit et in veritate publice recognovit Petro Belexio de Portu Mauricio, filio Francisci, presenti, se eidem dare et solvere debere libras quadraginta octo, soldos tresdecim et denarios sex Janue; et sunt pro resto vinorum eidem Christofforo et dicto Dominico venditorum et consignatorum per dictum Petrum.

- II. *Deposition made by Columbus in a lawsuit brought by Ludovico Centurione against Paulo di Negro, Genoa, August 25, 1479.*²

This deposition is preceded by a request made by Ludovico on August 23, 1479, for the hearing of his witnesses. Ludovico ex-

¹ From the Notarial Archives of Nicolo Raggio, file 2, a. 1470, n. 905. First published by Staglieno in *Giornale Ligustico* of 1887, p. 259, and reproduced in *Documenti of the Raccolta Colombiana*, part II., vol. 1, no. 34.

² Notarial Archives of Ventimiglia, file 2 (1474-1505), no. 266. Published by M. Ugo Assereto in *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, January-February, 1904.

plains that he desires to prove by witnesses who are about to start on a long voyage that the preceding year Paulo di Negro, to whom he had supplied money for the purchase of a consignment of sugar at Madeira, had sent Columbus to that island for that purpose, but that Columbus did not receive the full remittance and consequently was unable to complete the purchase.

This request was notified the same day to Paulo di Negro, and the day but one following Christopher Columbus, a citizen of Genoa (*Christofforus de Columbo civis janue*), says the notary, appeared and was heard. He declared on oath that in the month of July of the preceding year he was at Lisbon with Paulo di Negro, who commissioned him to purchase on his account at Madeira 2,500 arrobas of sugar; that Paulo handed him a portion of the funds necessary for this purchase and forwarded to him another portion at Madeira, where he (Columbus) had contracted to buy the required amount of sugar, but that, the balance of the amount not having been remitted, when the Portuguese captain sent by Paulo di Negro to fetch the sugar arrived, the sellers who had sold for cash down refused to allow the goods to be shipped:

Ejus juramento corporaliter tactis scripturis de veritate dicenda et testificanda dixit se tantum scire de contentis intitulo videlicet quod veritas fuit et est quod cum anno proxime preterito de mense Julii ipse testis et dictus Paulus essent in loco Ulisbone transmissus fuit ipse testis per eundem Paulum ad insulam Amaderie cause emendi rubas duomilia quadringentas sucarorum in plus, cui quidem testi dacti ex tunc fuerunt per dictum Paulum vel alium pro eo occasione predicta regales centum quindecim milia et inde dum ipse testis esset in dicta insula Amaderie, etiam transmissi fuerunt ipse testi per eundem Paulum seu alium pro eo occasione premissa usque ad summam regalium tre centum duodecim milia vel circa computatis dictis regalibus centum quindecim milia, et hoc usque ad illud tempus quo ad dictam insulam apulit navigium patronisatum per Ferdinandum Palensium portugalem in et super quo navigio onerari debet dicta sucarorum quantitas, que tamen onerari tunc non potuit licet empti et incaparati antea fuisset per ipsum testem, licet tamen presentialiter proprie et ad punctum testificare non possit, que pars dictorum sucarorum tunc empti et per eundem testem incaparati fuisset quia non habet ejus librum in quo distincte omnia continentur et scripta sunt et ad quem se refert. Verum tempore apulsus dicti navigii sucara ipsa empti et incaparati per ipsum testem ut supra in totum habere non potuit defectu pecunie ipsi testi non transmissis per dictum Paulum pro ipsorum sucarorum solutione et ea pars que consignata fuerat ipsi testi per venditores licet non soluta applicato dicto navilio ab eis minabatur ut illa vendi facerent damno et interesse ipsius testis attento quod eorum debitum et solutionem non faciebat, quibus ex causis dicta sucarorum quantitas in et super dicto navigio onerari non potuit.

The remainder of the deposition consists of Columbus's replies to a series of questions relative to the affair. To the last questions he replies that he is leaving for Lisbon next day, that he is about twenty-seven years of age, that he was carrying away with him a little over one hundred florins, and that he sincerely hoped the party who was in the right would win:

Interrogatus si est de proximo recessurus respondit sic, die crastino de mane pro Ulisbona.

Interrogatus quotannis est quantum habet in bonis et quam partem vellet obtinere.

Respondit quod est etatis annorum viginti septem vel circa, habet florenos centum et ultra et vellet obtinere jus habentem.

Actum Janue in contracta santi siri videlicet in scagno dicti Lodixii anno dominice nativitatis millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo nono indicione undecima Juxta morem Janue die mercurii vigesima quinta Augusti hora vigesima quarta paulo plus presentibus Johanne Baptista de Cruce qm. Jeronimi et Jacobo Sclavina Bernardi civibus Janue testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

THE BLACK WARRIOR AFFAIR

THE affair of the *Black Warrior* was symptomatic of the political conditions of its time in the United States. It may perhaps be treated as a type of the many disputes which arose during the last century over the peculiarly Spanish methods of applying the navigation laws of Cuba to our shipping. It brings us into contact with the Spanish administration of Cuba in the days of an international crisis. But the various accounts of the affair that have already been written are based in all the essential points upon such documents and diplomatic and private papers as have been given to the government printers for publication by the Department of State.¹ As this material has for the most part consisted of reports and correspondence of American origin, the evidence deduced from it in arriving at a judgment on the real merits of the case presented by the parties involved is unsatisfactory, and the data furnished by it have in many particulars remained incomplete.

An examination of the letter-files of the captain-general of Cuba preserved in the Archivo Nacional at Havana has brought to light many new papers which shed new light upon this historical incident. The Spanish documents bearing on the subject are supplemented by the correspondence, official and private, of Americans residing in Havana who played important rôles in the affair. We now have at hand probably the most important official notes that passed between Madrid, Havana, and Washington, confidential correspondence (sometimes carried on in the Spanish government's cipher code), which constitutes a very interesting commentary not only on the internal politics of the country, but on the main part of the foreign policy of the Pierce administration and the attitude of the European powers toward the ambitions of the latter.

This present account does not purport to be a complete story of the *Black Warrior* Affair; it merely attempts to avail itself of certain new matter in order to fit some missing historical passages into an existing fragmentary account. With these prefatory remarks, we pass on to a review and consideration of the important events which occurred at Havana during the months of February,

¹ Serial 724, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Executive Documents, vol. 11, 1853-1854, no. 86, pp. 306-318; Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Docs., vol. 10, 1854-1855, no. 93.

March, and April of 1854 when the situation known as the *Black Warrior* Affair was developed.

I.

The American steamer *Black Warrior*, one of the largest vessels engaged in the Atlantic coast transportation trade at the time, had for many months previous to February, 1854, been calling at Havana on her way to Mobile and New York City without particular incident. Though more than thirty trips between New York and Mobile via Havana had been made by the steamer, shipments not billed to Cuba had never been entered in the manifest of the cargo, if we are to accept as worthy of full credence the statement of Tyng and Company, consignees of the vessel. The port regulations of Havana, however, were explicit on this point: all cargo, whatever might be its point of destination, must under the law be declared in the ship's manifest and pay into the royal treasury a sum fixed by law.

On the morning of February 28, 1854, the *Black Warrior*, with upwards of nine hundred bales of cotton for New York and fourteen passengers, passed Morro Castle and anchored in the bay beyond. The vessel was late in arriving. She had been expected on the twenty-fifth and had been "cleared" for the day following. The company's agents were in the habit of applying for clearance papers before the arrival of the steamer in order to have done with a formality which might develop into a source of delay if postponed. This very obvious irregularity was sanctioned by the Spanish officials.

The *visita de fondeo* (visit of inspection) was made in the usual manner by the revenue inspectors, who at the time placed in the hands of Captain Bullock an English copy of the regulations of the port.¹ Revenue Inspector de Santiago, who was accompanied by the government interpreter, happened to glance into the open hatches of the vessel and discovered that a great quantity of cotton was being carried, although the ship's manifest made declaration of nothing but "ship's stores".

In this "heyday of filibusters" the greatest vigilance was enjoined on all Spanish officials: Pezuela, the new governor, who had been sent to Cuba because of his well-known energetic character, had undoubtedly been sufficiently warned by the feverish activities of certain adventurers in the States to take every precaution to guard the coasts and ports committed to his charge. De Santiago told

¹ Sworn statement of Jaime de Santiago, June 17, 1854.

Captain Bullock that he had twelve hours in which to correct his papers, but that in the meantime the discovery that had been made would have to be reported to the collector of the customs. The captain retorted that, as the goods were on their way to New York, Havana had no interest in them; whereupon he was informed "that the bales that he was carrying should be declared *in transitu*, according to the customs regulations, which he must be well acquainted with inasmuch as he came frequently to the port."¹ It was bruited about that the captain had aboard a cargo of contraband.²

At twelve o'clock on this same day, Tyng, the ship's agent, sent his clerk to the customs office with orders to secure a pass for Morro Castle so that the steamer might resume its northern journey. He was then told that the vessel was under suspicion. Roca, the collector, states that he sent a message immediately after the visit of de Santiago to the ship apprising Tyng and Company of the turn affairs had taken. A second visit of inspection was commanded in order to ascertain the correctness of the report of de Santiago; and the pass requested was refused pending the result of the re-examination of the hold of the steamer. Of course an enormous unmanifested cargo was found on board the *Black Warrior*. When the second official visit was paid to the vessel, Roca, after consulting with his superior officer, the *intendente*, and upon Tyng's refusing to go on the captain's bond, ordered the immediate seizure of the cargo and the arrest of the captain. Roca was careful to stipulate "that this [discharge of the ship's cargo] should proceed with the despatch that the case required in order that the said boat might suffer no delay". All this occurred before four o'clock in the afternoon of the day of the arrival of the steamer.³

Tyng now hurried to the consulate of the United States, which was at the time in charge of Acting Consul William H. Robertson. This official showed an activity all through the affair which the Spaniards characterized in very severe terms and which won for him the cordial dislike of the authorities of the country. The governor looked upon him as the type of the objectionable American

¹ *Ibid.*

² Justo Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones en Cuba: Apuntes para la Historia Política de esta Isla en el presente Siglo* (Madrid, 2 vols., 1872-1873), I. 660; Miguel Estorch, *Apuntes para la Historia sobre la Administración del Marqués de la Pezuela en la Isla de Cuba, desde 3 de diciembre de 1853 hasta 21 de setiembre de 1854* (Madrid, 1856), p. 46.

³ Roca to the General Administrator of the Royal Customs of Havana (i. e., the Marqués de la Pezuela himself), signed at four o'clock in the afternoon, February 28 1854.

and as the fomentor of all the troubles that so complicated the affair of the *Black Warrior*.

It was decided at the consulate that the consul and Captain Bullock should proceed to the palace for the purpose of explaining to the governor-general that if an error had been committed it was due to the ignorance of the captain of the vessel, who had no knowledge of the port regulations, and that there had been no attempt to defraud the royal exchequer of a portion of its revenues. In the meantime Tyng was to call at the custom-house and lay his case before the collector of customs. Tyng alleges that the collector refused "offhand" (*extemporáneo*) to permit him to correct the manifest, declaring that the right of correction ceased at the moment of the presentation of the paper. Bullock says he learned, to his surprise, that this right had been lost when the clearance papers had been issued, that is, two days before the steamer reached Havana.

To the assertion of the Americans that the captain had followed all the formalities that had been observed in all the many previous trips of the vessel to Havana, Estorch, the historian of Pezuela's administration, interposes the rejoinder that there is record of at least one case where the captain of the *Black Warrior* had presented the proper legal manifest and where duties on merchandise in transit aboard the vessel had been collected. The very nice point that a practice long continued could crystallize into a custom which might acquire the real force of law and be entitled to all respect as such, and that the sudden enforcement of an obsolete law in opposition to custom might seriously demoralize commerce and work damage for which an indemnity could be exacted, was carefully passed over by the Spanish authorities. This question was a matter for the equitable jurisdiction of Her Majesty. It was fully debated in the *Córtes* a year later. From the Spanish standpoint, it was quite sufficient to interpose at this point that the governor of Cuba was sent to his high post for the purpose of enforcing the law. As to previous arrangements and practices, Roca,¹ who had just been appointed collector of customs of the port of Havana, could hardly have been expected to take cognizance of irregular agreements made before his appointment; it was his duty to compel the shipping of the port to conform to the instructions which were placed in his hands at the time of the assumption of his new charge.

It is worthy of note that none of the Spanish documents at hand, bearing dates showing that they were written within two or three

¹ Estorch, *Apuntes*, p. 70.

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weeks after the detention of the *Black Warrior*, contains anything regarding the twelve-hour rule which soon came forward as the point about which the most heated discussion raged. Did the Havana authorities deny to the American citizens on this occasion the legal right they possessed of modifying or correcting the ship's manifest as they pleased within the period of twelve hours after the arrival of the vessel? This point is an all-important one. On June 17 Roca, in obedience to orders from the captain-general (who acted on a suggestion made by the Spanish legation at Washington), subscribed to a sworn statement which gave in his words what transpired during the visit of Tyng to him on the afternoon of February 28. This affidavit of Roca's will repay careful examination; for Marcy was very insistent on the point that the whole success of the Spanish defense depended on whether they could show that the cargo of the *Black Warrior* was not embargoed before seven o'clock p. m. of the twenty-eighth, or twelve hours after the boat had dropped anchor near the coal-wharves of Havana. The Roca-Tyng conference took place between the hours of three and four. Roca states that he directed Tyng's attention

to the fact that he might, if he pleased, with the view of obviating difficulties and guarding against disagreeable possibilities, make an addition to or correction of the manifest, declaring as *in transitu* the merchandise which was on board said vessel; that the instructions gave the captain (or, in case of his failure to act, the consignee of the boat) this privilege in the fifth article; that the period was twelve working [*utiles*] hours; and that he had yet time, as the period did not expire until six o'clock that evening.

Roca states that Tyng had nothing but stubborn remonstrances to offer at this point. The affidavit continues:

The said Tyng replied as follows to this: that "he would not submit to ridiculous formalities, that the cotton and other cargo on board the steamer *Black Warrior* was on its way to another point, and that, as far as Havana was concerned, the boat rode in ballast, as its manifest said"; and, taking out his watch and looking at the hour, he added, "what I do, is to protest before you that this was said at 3:30 in the afternoon" —to which he that subscribes this replied, that he [Tyng] ought not to protest regarding what the "Instruction" prescribed in the case and that he [Tyng] might protest against it before his [Roca's] superior officers, if he believed that he [Roca] was failing to perform his duty.

According to this statement of Roca, the afternoon's representations of Tyng degenerated at this crucial moment into angry protests against "ridiculous formalities" of the law instead of taking the form of an application for permission to correct the manifest that had been presented. The collector on oath further declares

that it was not until the following day that the consignee was ready to present the formal petition which was required. A few days later, Tyng had a conference with the governor-general, who reports it in his despatches to Washington and Madrid in these words:¹

... the consignee called upon me, openly confessing their [Captain Bullock's and Tyng's] fault, attributing it to their ignorance, and requesting of me as an act of clemency that no higher duties be exacted than those paid by every boat having cargo manifested as *in transitu*; but I did not consider it proper to accede to this request out of respect for the law and the national dignity and for the additional reason that, as judicial proceedings had been instituted, it was not in my power to take the step suggested, and furthermore and chiefly because, bearing in mind the circumstances that a sheet of [special] instructions together with a [complete] copy (in English) of the same had been placed in the hands of the captain, a plea of ignorance of customs and language could not be entertained.

Roca's statement was made some four and one-half months after February 28, and much had occurred during that interval to stir the Spanish administration to a realization of the gravity of the international situation. Bearing in mind the advice that (if we are to believe the affidavit of June 17) was given to Tyng by Roca, the following extract quoted from a letter² written by the same official a few minutes after the visit of Tyng, and in reply to a note addressed to him by the captain-general, is interesting: "Therefore, I have given orders to the 'Comandante de Carabineros' to begin the unloading of the effects that have been confiscated, and to store them in the warehouses of Casa Blanca, charging him especially and repeatedly to use all moderation in everything." The date of this order is not doubtful: "This is all that I am able to say to Your Excellency in reply to your official note of to-day which I just at this moment received, which is four o'clock in the afternoon. . . . Havana, February 28, 1854. Your Excellency, Joaqn. Roca." If Tyng still had several hours at his disposal during which he could bring the ship's papers into conformity with the law (as the above affidavit would indicate), the immediate seizure of the property by the collector was absolutely without any moral or legal justification, an outrage committed against the property of American citizens, aggravated by the *mala fides* of the collector of the port who issued the order of detention and confiscation.

Pezuela³ advises Cueto, the Spanish minister at Washington, on the twentieth of the following June that the means indicated by

¹ Pezuela to Calderon and Magallon, March 7, 1854.

² Roca to Pezuela, February 28, 1854.

³ Pezuela to Cueto, June 20, 1854 (rough draft).

Roca as an escape from his "precarious position" was really (as he puts it) "evasive"; for Captain Bullock could not properly claim the legal privilege of modifying the manifest presented. The law in question, he goes on to say, applied only to the person "who had presented said manifest of cargo", permitting this individual to correct a mistake that had inadvertently crept into the paper, but not giving such permission to a person who, like Captain Bullock, did not present any manifest of cargo at all, and "committed a deliberate error for the purpose of defrauding the royal revenues by making a declaration *in ballast* when such was not the fact." This argument comes forward rather tardily, but Pezuela evidently cherished the hope that Roca's suggestion viewed in this light might gain a superior force, evidencing the eagerness of the Spanish officials to render every aid to the American merchants in finding a way through the labyrinth of Spanish law to a method of escaping the heavy penalty that was impending.

The Washington despatches dated May 7 and June 7 fix the crux of the difficulty in this fashion:¹

The successful issue of the negotiation regarding the affair of the *Black Warrior*, torqued at present by this circumstance [the difficulty of reconciling the conflicting statements of the officials of the two nations in Havana], depends solely for us on the possibility of demonstrating the palpable and complete inexactitude of the assertion² of Mr. Robertson.

Cueto was not slow in detecting the weak point in the governor's defense. With the record of the period before us, we can appreciate the force of added pressure which despatches of the above nature from Washington must have had on Pezuela, who through Roca had been fully advised on February 28 of the steps that had been taken that day in the matter of the seizure of the cotton aboard the American steamer. Every bit of evidence goes to establish the belief that Her Catholic Majesty's representative in the "ever most faithful City of Havana" was not at that time unwilling to avail himself of the administrative privilege of prevarication.

With the above facts clearly established, the suspicion gains strength that Havana was trying to make our consul a scapegoat for Spanish aims. It was felt in Spanish official circles that something must be done to correct the impression that Robertson's official reports were giving. Pezuela, pressed hard for facts, maintained that "our government should protest immediately against the asser-

¹ Cueto to Pezuela, May 7, 1854.

² That is, that the vessel and cargo had been seized by the authorities of Havana before the much-discussed legal period of twelve hours had run.

tions that the consul Robertson has made or may in the future make, as I consider him to be the prime cause of the strained relations at present existing between the two governments".¹ Occasionally the personal hostility of the two officials finds expression in the notes exchanged by the Consulate and the Palace. In the hurry of the moment Robertson had neglected to take a copy of the first letter² to Pezuela relating to the detention of the *Black Warrior*, and so respectfully requested that a copy of the original in the hands of the governor might be made for the files of the consulate. The note from the secretary of the governor accompanying the copy of the letter indicated remarked insinuatingly that the Marqués de la Pezuela was a gentleman and for his part had nothing to conceal. He probably adverted to Robertson's failure to transmit a copy of the letter of February 28 to the Department at Washington. Then came the articles in the *Diario de la Marina*, the official paper, savagely attacking the consul and the head of the government he represented. Robertson in both cases³ criticized the translations that had been made of a consular despatch and the President's message—translations that were so bad as to be vicious—qualifying the philippic directed against him as actuated by malice and as showing a clear intent to pervert the facts. He even went to the length of demanding that the objectionable passages in the articles he named be corrected in a manner honorable to himself. The important part of the governor's reply in the formal third person follows:⁴

That he [Pezuela] has considered as official all communications that Your Honor has addressed to him, not having had at any time motive to act otherwise; that henceforth you may abstain from directing to His Excellency complaints foreign to the exclusively commercial character of the exequatur (which Your Honor may please to reread at this point) granted to Your Honor by the Queen, My Lady; that there is no representation here recognized by the States of the Union as having such privileges, and Your Honor may turn with your grievances to your government as this government may turn to its own or to our representative at Washington, when it may be necessary.

The governor promised, however, to have certain of the corrections desired made. Pezuela in his secret despatches accuses Robertson of improperly and clandestinely interfering in the affairs of the country. He declares that Robertson permitted the captain of the *Fulton* to vaunt in his house the mad purpose "of taking the *Black*

¹ Pezuela to Cueto, June 20, 1854.

² A letter that was a purely formal protest against the proceedings of the Spaniards as to the *Black Warrior*.

³ Robertson to Pezuela (2), April 1, 1854.

⁴ Secretary of Government to Robertson, April 2, 1854.

Warrior out of the port by force", and that the consul "made exaggerated and erroneous reports to Washington which prompted the President's message out of which arose all the present international difficulties".¹

The very fact that inadequate powers were granted our consular representatives in Havana was the direct cause of endless friction between the consulate and the government of the island. It was inevitable that our consuls should quickly fall into bad repute with the Spanish authorities of Cuba and be arraigned as officious intermeddlers, if they were to be of any service to the Americans who were constantly falling victims to incomprehensible formalities or to the principle of *dolce far niente* of the island administration. An increase in the powers of the consul which would give him a semi-diplomatic character would have harmonized well with the viceregal prerogatives of a governor of the time of Pezuela.²

Coming back to the original facts of the case, nothing could prevent the embargo from being laid on the vessel. On March 2 Charles Tyng and Company petitioned the captain-general, acknowledging that "they *had erred* through pure ignorance, but without the slightest intention of causing loss to the Royal Treasury or of creating difficulties".³ A petition drawn up on the previous day had stated that, during the course of many trips from Mobile to New York, the agents had always omitted to make declaration of cargo in transit as it had been taken for granted that this was the proper thing to do. This objectionable phrasology was not repeated in the formal petition of March 2, probably in obedience to a suggestion from high quarters. On March 7 the *Diario de la Marina* published a decree which had gone into effect on the twenty-third of the previous month. This decree declared that a manifest once modified in any way was final and could not be allowed in any particular; it is extremely doubtful whether this order, which had been published weeks after the confiscation complained of, was law on February 28. On March 16 the vessel and cargo were released and a fine of \$6,000 imposed on the agents, Tyng and Company, in lieu of all other punishment.⁴ The captain-general agreed to permit a petition to be transmitted through him to the Queen. This petition was favorably received by the home government, Her Catholic Majesty deigning to remit the fine of 6,000 duros and to

¹ Pezuela to Cueto, June 20, 1854.

² Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones*, I. 654.

³ Estorch, *Apuntes*, pp. 174-176.

⁴ Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Doc. 93, p. 46.

⁵ Pezuela to Magallon, March 21, 1854; Estorch, *Apuntes*, p. 176.

grant, with generosity becoming royalty, customs privileges similar to those enjoyed by the ships of the English Royal Mail Line.

In the course of the next twelve months America heard little of the *Black Warrior* affair. During the vernal months of the following year the matter of indemnity to the owners of the *Black Warrior* had reached the stage of discussion in the stormy sessions of the *Córtes*. The American claimants received ministerial support in the persons of Luzuriaga and Zabala. It was freely acknowledged that the practice observed by Tyng of not declaring goods billed to New York or Mobile had "converted itself into a species of custom, constituting almost a law for the master of the steamer who felt sure that, if he declared the steamer to be in ballast, no inspection would be made, and this was done with the advice (*anuncio*) and consent of the authorities".¹ The official gazette of Madrid² observed that the authorities could not accept the refusal of Captain Bullock to amend the ship's manifest at two or three o'clock as a formal and effective renunciation of a right which the law gave to third parties for the space of twelve hours after the arrival of the boat.

A document discovered among the papers submitted by Pezuela³ showed that twelve hours had not elapsed from the time of the arrival of the steamer to the moment of the imposition of the embargo. In the fact that the *Black Warrior* carried mail the Spanish ministers found justification for the novel method pursued by the house of Tyng for the purpose of obtaining clearance papers for a vessel that had not yet reached port. In accordance with the recommendations of the Cabinet, the owners of the *Black Warrior* were granted an indemnity of \$53,000, thus putting a last touch to the complete triumph of the American case and severely censuring the administration of the Marqués de la Pezuela, who had been recalled in the autumn of the previous year.⁴

II.

The difficulties of communication with Cuba and the inevitable delays of distance were eagerly seized upon by Madrid as excuses for what might be properly called administrative procrastination, whenever it was feared that an affair might take a turn prejudicial

¹ *Diario de las Sesiones*, P. 8944 (1855); *ibid.*, March 29, 1855.

² *Gaceta de Madrid*, December 6, 1854.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ On May 3, 1855, the Minister of State said in the *Córtes*: "It gives me pleasure to inform the *Córtes* that the *Black Warrior* affair has been concluded and the feeling of common accord re-established between the two governments."

to the royal exchequer and disagreeable to Her Catholic Majesty. The opportunities presented by the nature of the respective positions on the map of colony and mother-country for delaying practically at will the settlement of claims of Cuban origin against the Spanish government were almost always too tempting to be neglected by Spanish statesmen. A protest handed by our consul in Havana to the captain-general was referred to Washington, which informed Madrid. Madrid must await a direct report from Havana before it could consent to take up a discussion of the case. Regarding the particular case we have in hand, however, Spanish diplomacy acted with unwonted despatch and incisiveness. On the seventh day of March, 1854, when for the first time it appeared certain that the *Black Warrior* affair would come into the international arena, the captain-general transmitted official accounts of the seizure of the vessel and cargo to Spain and to the Spanish *chargé* at Washington, who almost immediately on receipt of the Havana correspondence reported to his government on the general political situation in the United States.

No one has sought to palliate the extraordinary conduct of our representative at the court of Madrid during the course of this affair. Soulé was ambitiously exceeding his instructions and busily antagonizing colleagues and government at Spain's capital. In his eagerness to force a war and so wrest from Spain the possession of the Pearl of the Antilles, he was advancing claims and preferring charges of such stupendous magnitude that no government could in justice to itself think of entering into a discussion of the matter without being in possession of unusually full official information. Calderon de la Barca's appreciation of this situation is embodied in the instructions transmitted to Magallon on April 13: the Spanish Secretary of State describes the expectant attitude of the Spanish government; and it may be said, by way of introduction to the passage we quote, that Pezuela's first despatch of March 7 was to be continued by another prepared in time to catch the next monthly steamer, so that a complete report of the proceedings in Havana could have reached the Spanish Department of State only late in the month of April:¹

This government has not refused, as Your Excellency will see, nor does it refuse in this nor in any other case, to fulfil the obligations that are imposed by international law and by justice. But to accede without further investigation and with unseemly haste to the extraordinary demands of Mr. Soulé, presented in these solemn days² in a manner so

¹ Calderon to Pezuela, April 13, 1854.

² The Lenten festival in Catholic Spain.

unusual in transactions of this kind between friendly nations, would be derogatory to the dignity of an independent government, would be an act of arbitrariness against authorities in whom Her Majesty reposes her confidence. It is the duty of the government to hear and to take under careful consideration what the latter may adduce in their defense, and not to pass judgment hurriedly upon the presentation of evidence by the interested and irritated party alone.

The most elementary notions of justice could not be content with less. Authentic and complete data from Havana were indispensable to the formation of a correct and equitable judgment in the case.

During the time of his residence as Spanish minister in Washington Calderon, the Spanish Secretary of State, had had ample opportunity to gain a thorough acquaintance with the leading traits of American character and to obtain a more than superficial knowledge of the problems with which the leading parties were grappling. He at once realized the peculiar significance of the present affair, which bade fair to bring on all kinds of complications. All the instructions which he issued to his subordinates are couched in terms that are both firm and conservative. He saw clearly that certain factions in the States would welcome a war with Spain, and that the most exquisite tact would be required on the part of the representatives of his country to avoid a terrible international collision and gain a delay during which the excited passions of the hotheads in the Union might have time to cool. He was ready to act on a suggestion that the whole matter be submitted for arbitration to some friendly power, and was first to point to this way out of the difficulty.

Two despatches in cipher soon arrived from Washington bearing startling news of the sensation created throughout the length and breadth of the Union by the detention of the *Black Warrior*. The tone of the press and the attitude of the leading members of the Cabinet were unmistakably bellicose. The possibilities of the situation were discussed by the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* at Washington, who expressed the opinion "that internal questions have so divided the Democratic party that it will not be strange if this government utilizes this or any other excuse to create a national question, with the purpose of uniting the party upon it".¹

Was that volcano of American politics now to break out in an eruption that would destroy the last vestige of Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies? This was a question which editors were inclined to answer affirmatively and diplomats to discuss with fore-

¹ Magallon to Pezuela (inclosing Magallon to Spanish Secretary of State March 20, 1854), March 22, 1854.

boding. The foreign representatives at Washington were fully alive to the gravity of the situation. England and France were quite sure to be behind Spain with their advice and encouragement, and the other powers followed their lead.

Secretary Marcy and President Pierce were known to be greatly incensed over the affair, and it was apparent to every one at the nation's capital that strong pressure by powerful influences was being brought to bear on the President in the effort to raise the incident to the dignity of a *casus belli*. The general situation has an additional interest if told in the words of the Spanish *chargé*; the essential portions of the confidential cipher despatches are here inserted in translation:¹

As soon as the news of the detention of said steamer by the authorities of Cuba reached this point by telegraph from Charleston, the press broke out in diatribes against the government of Cuba and that of Her Majesty, each of the editors proposing a mode of avenging the so-called outrage; only the chivalric and independent "Intelligencer" and one other sheet counselled moderation and an impartial investigation of the matter before passing judgment upon it. A representative in the House proposed the suspension of the laws of neutrality as regards Spain; this proposition was rejected. On the following day another moved that the President be requested to transmit to the House the official correspondence relating to the affair. This was approved, and in conformity therewith the President yesterday transmitted to the House the inclosed message, regarding which I believe I may be excused from making any commentary, as up to this time I have been able to study only the portion furnished by the American acting-consul in Havana, whose report is for the most part founded upon suppositions. The agents [Tyng and Company], however, state that they have been guided in everything by the counsel of this consular agent. I beg to advise Your Excellency that illusory hopes should not be built on this particular. From the President down, all are disposed to take advantage of any opportunity to get possession of Cuba, whether it be by attacking the island directly or by lending aid to the revolutionaries. The situation in the Orient they believe to be as favorable to this as they have for some time desired; and they will have it understood that the preoccupation of France and England in those regions will prevent these nations from lending aid to us and that they [the Americans] can work more freely.

If I had no other reasons in support of this statement of mine than the above, those which I now communicate to Your Excellency would suffice. On the occasion of the visit of the minister of England to the Department of State, when the minister asked Mr. Marcy whether in the case of the cessation of hostilities with Russia, and in case the vessels of H. B. M. should seize any American privateer [or as the Spanish has it, *corsair*], the law of the United States would be applied to the latter, Mr. Marcy replied in the affirmative; and added, as in jest, that England and France would in this respect be so satisfied with this government

¹ Magallon to Pezuela, partly in cipher (transmitting Magallon to First Secretary of State, March 16, 1854), March 20, 1854.

that he hoped that said powers would put no obstacles in the way of the annexation of the island. When the astute General Almonte, on the other hand, tried to convince Mr. Marcy that the modification of the article of the treaty just negotiated with Mexico, in which the United States engaged itself to employ its army and marine in the destruction of whatever filibustering expedition might take up arms against that republic, deprived Mexico of one of the most important bases of said treaty, he [Mr. Marcy] responded to him in these words: the concession would mean nothing to Your Excellency but would tie our hands in the question of Cuba; this in spite of the assurances given in the message of the President at the opening of the last Congress! The minister of Mexico assured me yesterday that a person who was present when the President received the first news of the embargo placed on the Black Warrior told him that he [the President], rubbing his palms together, exclaimed: "Good, good. Here is a fine bit of political capital!"

A note of March 20 continues the above:¹

The minister of France told me that he had had a long conference with the Minister of State, in which he had tried to convince the latter that the case of the Black Warrior was a purely commercial question and not a political question as they are trying to make it, reminding him that not long since the collector of customs of California, in contravention of the laws of the United States, had detained and sold at public auction several English and from thirteen to seventeen French vessels, without this having altered the relations of France and England with this country. The Minister of State persisted in asserting that the alleged outrage had been committed with the express purpose of offending this republic and its government, and told the French minister that at any rate his instructions had already been issued and the message of the President transmitted to the House. The Count de Sartiges said to him then that he was certain that his government as well as that of England could not look with indifference upon any attack on the integrity of Cuba, and that they would maintain the principles advanced in their project of the Tripartite Treaty. As it was rumored with some appearance of truth that this Congress of Representatives [sic] would vote the suspension with respect to Spain of the laws of neutrality of 1818,² the minister resident of Bremen went to see Mr. Mann, Sub-secretary of State, and in confidence protested against that proposed measure, alleging that not only our commerce but the commerce of all other nations, including his own, would suffer thereby. To this Mr. Mann replied that those who broke the law in its application to other countries would be punished, but that he believed that the government really wished to obtain this authorization from Congress. Then the minister resident pointed out the impossibility of punishing those acts of piracy, owing to the fact that it was impossible to bring forward witnesses against the offenders, as the vessels seized were sunk after being robbed. At the conclusion of his conference with Mr. Mann he came to inform me regarding it. Finally the present *chargé d'affaires* of Russia, a friend and old comrade of mine, told me that he had found Mr. Marcy much

¹ Magallon to Pezuela (transmitting Magallon to the First Secretary of State of Spain, March 20, 1854), March 22, 1854.

² See *United States Statutes at Large*, III. 447-450.

incensed, and that Marcy assured him that if he had had the available vessels he would have sent them to Havana; but that they were going to summon the squadron which they had in Japan, for this purpose as well as in view of what might possibly occur. The message of the President is still under consideration in the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House; but from a short speech that its chairman, Mr. Bayley, made in reply to a question, the report of the committee will not in the slightest degree depart from the tone of virulence of said message.

The probable alignment of the powers, in the event that America dealt the stroke that was to cut the Gordian Knot and bring on the war, was of the greatest interest. Direct word had reached Madrid that Spain's old friends would stand by her in this crisis to the end. "From communications that we have received from London and Paris", wrote Calderon,¹ "we learn with satisfaction that the Cabinets of France and England approve our course and are of the opinion that justice is on our side." On the day following the despatch of this, Her Majesty's representatives in the New World were informed that the hint had been dropped at the courts of Paris and London that the Queen of Spain would not look with disfavor upon any proposition that might be made to arbitrate the whole question.

All the news that reached Madrid from Washington, however, was far from being reassuring; the hopes that were felt at first of an early settlement gave place to a feeling of pessimism regarding the outcome. As to an amicable adjustment of the difference at an early date, the Spanish diplomats at Paris and London were informed "that, unfortunately, there are motives not unknown to you which would prevent the government of Her Majesty from placing too many hopes on the certainty of such a termination".² Calderon, who, as has been said, had passed a period of diplomatic service in Washington, could not be altogether certain that the clouds that seemed to be hovering over Cuba's coasts were not those of war. He knew that many persons were ready to applaud such sentiments as those which proceeded from the editorial columns of the *Union*, a paper which was looked upon as most certainly voicing the views of the administration. This paper declared that the time had arrived when we must meet Spain in Cuba with "the purse in one hand and the sword in the other".³ Shortly after the first news from Havana reached the public, the *New York Herald* thus harangued its readers:

¹ Calderon to Pezuela, May 7, 1854.

² Same to same, May 8, 1854.

³ *Washington Daily Union*, June 23, 1854; quoted in letter of Cucto to the Spanish First Secretary of State, June 24, 1854.

If the administration have any heart left, if there be among them one spark of American spirit, let them take up this matter in the tone which befits the gravity of the case, and the chronic character of the Cuban disease. No ambassadors, or diplomatic notes are needed. Let them simply fit out, in a week at farthest, three or four war steamers, and despatch them to Cuba, with peremptory orders to obtain satisfaction for the injury done to the Black Warrior. Let Governor Pezuela be allowed twenty-four hours to release the cargo of the steamer, and make full compensation to the owners, and in default, we shall see whether our navy contains but one Ingraham.¹

That the Spanish authorities of Cuba had had no intention of insulting the American flag was of course carefully emphasized by Cueto.² The Spanish premier characterized the affair as an incident which,

exploited by malice and by the spirit of hostility to Spain which is fostered by certain evil-intentioned parties, assumed an importance which it could never have had, had it been investigated in the beginning with cool deliberation, and had an attentive ear not been turned to the impassioned reports of those who sought to pass as the aggrieved parties and to exaggerate the extent of their injuries.

At Madrid, Soulé was beginning to become more moderate in his behavior and showed himself hopefully tractable in a conference with San Luis, the president of the Council of Ministers. The time had arrived, it was thought in Spanish circles, when Cueto might be instructed to lay stress upon the well-known fact of the almost brutal insistence of the American claimants and the generosity and fairness of Her Majesty's government. Cueto was instructed to make a direct appeal³ to the President's sense of justice and to prevail upon him and Marcy to lay the vexed question forever aside.⁴ Though the release of the steamer *Black Warrior*, the remittal of the fine, and the grant of special royal privileges to the owners of the boat put the minister at a loss to imagine any possible *point d'appui* in reason for new claims, it was recognized that the general situation was far from being reassuring. Quitman in the South⁵ and Slidell in Congress might be successful in their purposes. What then? All possible contingencies must be carefully considered.

If passion prevails against reason [came the word from the old Castilian], if the repeated assurances of our purpose and sincere desire to preserve peaceful relations with the Republic are vain, Your Excellency will labor for delay and to obtain the acceptance of arbitration, which is the means to which good faith turns and which cannot be

¹ *New York Herald*, March 11, 1854.

² Cueto to the Secretary of State, June 24, 1854.

³ Calderon to Pezuela, May 10, 1854; also Calderon to Cueto, same date.

⁴ Calderon to Pezuela, May 7, 1854.

⁵ Same to same, May 10, 1854.

refused when it is intended to secure a triumph of justice by discovering the truth. But although Your Excellency is authorized to support this idea, this proposition of arbitration, as a last recourse, it should not be suggested either verbally or in writing by Your Excellency. There is one contingency which, while the government of Her Majesty does not look upon it as probable, yet cannot remain unnoticed. I allude to the case that the abolition of the law of neutrality should be proposed in Congress, or what is substantially the same as the trampling under foot of the most sacred precept of the code of nations. If that country should bring such a scandal forth into the world, Your Excellency will take measures to prevent the passage of such a resolution. If, upon being passed, it is sanctioned by the President, Your Excellency will protest against it, representing that Her Majesty will consider it as a declaration of war which is most abhorred by all Christendom, the war of pirates. Your Excellency will [then] withdraw from Washington with the whole legation and send a full report of everything to the captain-general of Cuba. Your Excellency will act in a similar manner if an expedition of pirates,¹ such as has set out in the past, succeeds in leaving for that island, and if it is followed by another, although it may be a division of the same expedition. Your Excellency will state that war is considered as having been declared, and Your Excellency will advise the captain-general to that effect, in order that he may take the proper measures.²

The Spanish minister at Washington was admonished to keep in constant communication with the captain-general throughout this period of crises, and to galvanize into life the torpidity of certain consuls of Spain in the States, bringing them to a full realization of the necessity of reporting frequently to the legation and of keeping constantly on the alert. Further, the consuls in the chief cities of the States were to be kept *au courant* of the course of events in Havana by Pezuela, as is evidenced by the correspondence at hand. Extraordinary powers of removal *ad interim* of those commercial representatives who did not show the requisite official zeal were given the minister in this emergency. But the fact was apparent that the crisis had already passed. In America a reaction had already begun to set in against the undiplomatic and ambitious Soulé. The attention of the American people was directed westward to the great initial manifestations of a hostility which was soon to array one section of the country against the other in civil war.

Cueto wrote his government on June 7 that the Washington Cabinet was trying to extricate itself from the *Black Warrior* entanglement. Apropos of the manoeuvre of Soulé,³ which consisted in again presenting a mass of accumulated claims of American citi-

¹ Reference is made to filibustering expeditions.

² Calderon to Pezuela (Calderon to Cueto, dated the same), May 7, 1854.

³ Soulé to Calderon, April 20, 1854. Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Doc.

zens and in crowding Spain with demands that the claims be immediately liquidated, the envoy had this to say:¹

I do not fear it [a discussion of these claims] at the present time, because, as Your Excellency very well knows, these claims have not been disinterred by reason of any value which any one of them may in itself have, but as a method of procuring pabulum for the execrable system of political popularity, which consists in exciting the public opinion in these states against the Spaniards by imaginary grievances. Mr. Soulé, who shows himself such a stubborn promoter of this system, has lost so much of his diplomatic prestige that (I desire to state this in such a manner as will leave no room for doubt) this government will not follow his lead in the matter of the claims referred to; at least, in these moments, when the majority of the American people, disgusted with the extraordinary demonstration accompanying the presentation of groundless claims, and with the incongruous plans of the government, and distrusting the latter not a little, are restraining the ebullition of anger which was produced in the beginning by the "Black Warrior" question.

The internal strife reached such proportions and so engaged the public attention that the Spanish minister was able on the eighth of the next month to report that "all the questions promoted by the hostile policy of this government against us remain as if paralyzed; the press is silenced, and the affair of the 'Black Warrior' almost forgotten".²

When Cueto in obedience to instructions from home sought an interview with Marcy and laid before the secretary the case of his government together with the detailed reports from Havana, the whole matter had passed into the hands of Congress; and the Department of State was able only to transmit to that body such information as it received. The conciliatory note of Calderon,³ which Cueto placed before Marcy and Cushing⁴ in the original, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Cabinet members, who requested that they might have a copy of the communication. But the Spanish diplomat excused himself from this on the ground that he would first have to ask permission of his government before he could grant this request; for, as he writes to his superior, in the light of past experience he had reason to fear that the official note might be given out to the press with the "usual self-laudatory comments thereon prepared by the administration". It was quite evident from the attitude of the two secretaries that they would willingly, if they could, close up the whole matter.

¹ Cueto to Calderon, July 4, 1854.

² Estorch, *Apuntes*, p. 52.

³ Calderon to Cueto, May 7, 1854.

⁴ When Cushing learned that Tyng in his petition acknowledged that "the Captain had erred", the attorney-general ejaculated impatiently, "Of that stamp are all merchants". *Ibid.*

In this interview Marcy carefully sifted the evidence, and advanced the opinion that nothing was clear but the fact of a direct contradiction in the evidence presented by Pezuela and Robertson, respectively, and that there the matter must rest pending the receipt of further advices after a fresh investigation. The question regarding the intent of the Cuban authorities to dishonor our national emblem was hardly touched upon; it had been relegated to the limbo of all abortive international charges.

At length the normal conditions had returned. Spanish diplomacy, aided by its good ally in America, the struggle over the question of the extension of slavery, had won the day against the faction who had favored the incorporation of Cuba into the Southern system at any price. Fifteen days after the conference between Cueto, Marcy, and Cushing, Soulé received word from the Department of State that "The President . . . does not . . . expect you will at present take any further steps in relation to the outrage in the case of the 'Black Warrior.'"¹

HENRY LORENZO JANES.

¹ Marcy to Soulé, June 22, 1854, Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Doc. 93, p. 117. In his *Memories of Many Men*, Maunsell B. Field states that after his arrival at Madrid with Marcy's despatch relative to the Ostend Manifesto, during December, 1854, Soulé received instructions to reopen the discussion of the case of the *Black Warrior* with Minister Luzuriaga.

THE LITERATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 1899-1902¹

THE interest of the general public in the narratives of a campaign is unfortunately in inverse ratio to their historical accuracy and value. A few hours after a great action crowds mad with excitement are struggling thousands of miles away for successive editions of journals containing the latest bulletins of generals and the telegrams of war correspondents. Yet both bulletins and telegrams have been written on the field of battle with haste and imperfect knowledge of the facts and are the product of brains too overwrought for sound judgment. The letters of the correspondents and the personal despatches of the general in command which follow are read by many, but with less avidity than the telegrams. The former are expanded in book form, and become for the majority of the public the Ultima Thule of their studies of the war. The success of these books depends on their being placed on the market as soon as possible after the events which they record have taken place, and on their being written in graphic style with due regard to popular views and prejudices. The man in the street gets what he wants. If ill fortune has dogged the footsteps of a general, his shortcomings will be exposed with much candor to the indignant public by these rapid makers of history. If on the other hand a leader should be receiving worship as a popular hero, no whisper of the mistakes, which escaped paying a penalty, or of the happy accidents which insured victory will be allowed to appear. Even with the most honest desire to tell the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth, the writers of this class of books are foredoomed to fail in presenting any accounts which can in after years be regarded as a serious contribution to history. And this for two reasons: they are too near to the events with which they are dealing to look at them with a true focus; and the details of the events themselves are still wrapped in a confused tangle, only to be unravelled by strenuous labor and prolonged research.

¹ A "List of Works in the Library of Congress on the Boer War," compiled under A. P. C. Griffin, is printed in *Selected Translations pertaining to the Boer War*, published in Washington, 1905, by the Military Information Division of the General Staff, pp. 207-231. The German books on the war are mostly noted under "Kriegsgeschichte" in the *Allgemeine Militär- und Sport-Bibliographie*, vols. 8 to 12. For other works in various languages see the quarterly *List of Military Publications* . . . received in the Adjutant-general's Office, War Department (Washington). Ed.

These causes no doubt affect the making of all history, but for military historians they have a special force. The object of military history is not the mere elucidation of the truth, the vindication of a great commander's reputation, or the pricking of the bubble of unmerited fame, but its true aim is to deduce, from the experiences of the past, lessons which may assist soldiers in the performance of their duty in future campaigns. Such lessons are not to be harvested without toil, the toil not only of the men who have won victory by their sweat and blood, but of those whose duty it is to collate and piece together the disjointed evidence of the staff, batteries, battalions, and regiments composing the contending force, and after due testing, sifting, and comparison to construct from this raw material a consistent narrative which, so far as human fallibility permits, may present to the reader a true picture. The difficulty of this task has been much augmented by the conditions of modern war. The great increase in the range of firearms, in the extension of troops, and in the size of armies renders it more and more impossible for any one man, be he commander-in-chief or war correspondent, or even for a large staff to follow at the time with any accuracy the detailed movements of units in action. Waterloo was fought ninety-one years ago; not a survivor is left with us. Yet that great struggle is a vineyard in which historians still labor. The harvest of a modern campaign may take even longer in reaping.

Every war and every field of battle is not, however, rich enough in military lessons to justify such close gleaning and re-gleaning. The narrative of many of the small wars of which the British army, beyond all other armies in the world, has the fullest experience, is confined to official telegrams and a despatch published some months afterward in an obscure corner of the *London Gazette*. Others of more importance have perhaps been favored with the presence of war correspondents whose reports throw light on side issues and give color to the dry official documents. A few attract sufficient public attention to give birth later to a literature of their own. But even if such literature should be created, it but seldom attains the dignity of historical research. Even the greater campaigns often fail to reach the higher plane on which the true scientific spirit of history holds sway. Of all the wars of the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic struggle, the Civil War in America, and the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 can alone be placed in the latter class, and have alone been subjected by generations of students to that process of scientific winnowing of evidence by which true history is finally secured. Over the wars other than those great contests—

such as the 1848 Campaign, the struggle for Schleswig-Holstein, the 1866 Campaign, the Russo-Turkish War, the British occupation of Egypt and the Soudan, and possibly the American-Spanish War, has fallen a haze of obscurity, which history seems unlikely to lift.

Thus it may be legitimate for historical purposes to classify campaigns in four groups: (1) purely local expeditions of no interest to the outside world, (2) the small wars of some temporary but no permanent importance, (3) the campaigns of considerable temporary interest but which fail to become landmarks in the history of the world, and (4) the contests which influence decisively the development of great national communities.

Time is needed before any particular campaign can be finally assigned to one of these groups. It is as yet premature to classify the South African War of 1899-1902, but it would seem doubtful if it will attain the highest rank. This doubt as to the position which the campaign will occupy in the eyes of future historians renders it difficult to estimate how far we are approaching finality in its historical examination. The assertion lately made in certain quarters, that everything that the general public cares to know has already been written, is, however, clear proof that the stream of popular ephemeral books which pours from the press during and immediately after a campaign, exciting national enthusiasm, has run dry, and that future literature will be confined to the professional scientific researches of the soldier and the historian. It is proposed in the present paper to review briefly the first class of works, and subsequently to discuss how far progress has as yet been made in the latter direction.

Of the popular literature the first in the field were naturally the narratives of the war correspondents, who followed the fortunes of the British forces in the eastern or western theatres of war during the first nine months or year of the campaign. At the outset it will be remembered that Natal was the decisive point, and that thither the representatives of the leading London journals congregated. James of the *Times*, Steevens of the *Daily Mail*, Stuart of the *Morning Post*, Bennet Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*, Maxwell of the *Standard*, and Pearse of the *Daily News*. All of them were shut up in Ladysmith except Bennet Burleigh, who slipped south when he saw his communications with the outer world threatened, and attached himself later to Buller's force. Many of them collated their experiences in book form. Of the stories of the siege the most vivid (although alas! incomplete, for enteric claimed the author as its victim early in January, 1900), was *From Cape Town*

to *Ladysmith*,¹ written by the brilliant pen of Steevens, a man beloved alike by soldier and journalist, who had the rare gift of combining in his word-pictures accuracy of statement with color and life. The other narratives of the three first weeks in Natal with their brilliant little actions of Talana and Elandsblaagte, the retarding fight at Reitfontein, the skilful retreat from Dundee, the mournful Monday of Lombard's Kop and Nicholson's Nek, and of the four long months during which Sir George White held the main Boer army at bay have hardly received full justice at the hands of the able journalists who witnessed them. A siege is trying to all who are in the inner circle, but for war correspondents, whose duty it is to keep the public informed from day to day of the progress of operations, the bad luck of being cut off for the third of a year from the outer world, save for such precarious means of communication as pigeons and runners, was the most cruel of misfortunes. Imperceptibly the disappointment, the strain of doing nothing when they desired to be most active, overshadowed their spirits and in a manner warped their judgment. The hardships of the siege are fully set out in their narratives, but the strategic value of keeping the flag flying, of containing the main striking force of the republics, and thus covering directly southern Natal, and indirectly Cape Colony, was not grasped or appreciated.

Of the popular narratives dealing with the relief of Ladysmith, *The Natal Campaign* by Bennet Burleigh² and *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* by Winston Churchill³ are the most valuable. Mr. Bennet Burleigh has a high reputation as a war correspondent; he has witnessed much fighting in every quarter of the globe, and can be trusted to put down frankly and truthfully what he sees and hears. That in common with nearly all his brethren of the pen he fails to display knowledge of the higher branches of the great game of war is hardly surprising, for, although the national judgment is much influenced by the reports of the press representatives from the seat of war, the need of systematically training such guides to public opinion in the performance of their responsible duties has not yet been accepted in democratic communities. Yet not only does the professional future of commanders of armies at times depend on popular verdicts hastily formed under such amateur guidance, but the force of public opinion at home, directed into wrong channels, not infrequently exercises an unfortunate influence over the conduct of operations in the field.

¹ London and New York, 1900.

² London, 1900.

³ London, 1900.

Mr. Churchill's book on the Natal campaign is of a different character. It will be remembered that, after a few years' service as a subaltern in the Ninth Hussars, that officer found a soldier's duties in peace time not sufficiently exacting to satisfy the demands of ambition and his desire for a strenuous life. He determined to follow in his father's footsteps, and exchanged his sword for a political career. But in the intervals of wooing popular favor he found time to observe as a war correspondent the operations of General Shafter in Cuba. When the South African war broke out, Churchill accepted a similar mission from the *Morning Post*, and as the correspondent of that journal was attached to Sir Redvers Buller's force in Natal. Made prisoner by the Boers in an armored train, which was pushed toward the Tugela at the end of November, 1899, he was taken to Pretoria, but escaping from his jailers made his way across the veld to Delagoa Bay, and thence returned to Durban in time to be present at Spion Kop and the actions which resulted in the relief of Ladysmith. In this latter phase he abandoned the pen and did good service as an officer in an irregular corps. The narrative of these adventures has a romance of its own, enhanced by the writer's present position and possible future, but it may be ranked rather as the exposition of a remarkable personality than as a contribution to scientific history.

Nor, too, can it be fairly held that the war correspondents with Lord Roberts's army in its advance through the Free State and Transvaal made as a body any valuable additions to historical literature. To this statement exception might be made in favor of *With General French and the Cavalry in South Africa*¹ by Charles S. Goldman. Mr. Goldman was attached to General French's command as a correspondent from the date of that officer's landing in Natal, and remained with him until the occupation of Barberton. His book deals with all that skilful fencing at Colesberg which first established French's reputation, with the relief of Kimberley, with the holding up of Cronje at Paardeberg—the finest cavalry feat of the war, with the occupation of Bloemfontein, with Sanna's Post, and with the whole of the subsequent advance to Pretoria, and thence eastward to the Portuguese border. The first chapters moreover describe the Natal fights at Elandslaagte and Lombard's Kop. The author, as a civilian, pretends to no personal military knowledge, but he was fortunate enough to win the confidence of French's staff, and in the preparation of his book is believed to have enjoyed the assistance of French's right hand—that

¹ London, 1902.

prince of staff officers, Major-general Haig—and of his Intelligence Officer, Major Lawrence. Aided by these special advantages and with the gifts of a shrewd perception and an appreciation of the value of details in a military narrative, he has produced a book which, while attractive to the general reader, cannot be disregarded by either the military student or the historian. An excellent series of maps, based in many cases on military sketches made on the ground, adds much to the value of this work, and although Mr. Goldman has not escaped the influence of the hero-worship inevitable in the biographist, his work is not likely to be rivalled as a fair account of the achievements of the British cavalry commander during the first year of the South African War.

But except from Mr. Goldman's book, not much valuable ore can be delved from this particular corner of the mine of campaigning literature. Some bright color and an appreciation of the light in which Lord Roberts's victories appeared to onlookers may, however, be gathered from Mr. Prevost Battersby's *In the Web of a War*,¹ which carries the story down to the occupation of Pretoria. The lessons, however, deduced by Mr. Battersby from his observations, as for instance that cavalry should carry no other weapon than the rifle, are not to be commended to soldiers. For vivid journalistic sketches of daily life in South Africa during the latter part of the war, a reader cannot do better than turn to *Unofficial Dispatches* by Edgar Wallace,² the *Daily Mail* correspondent, who depicts with a faithful pen, not so much the actual fighting, but the passions, words, and appearance of the people who fought and of those who looked on. It throws much light on the effect of prolonged civil war on combatants and civilians. *With Seven Generals in the Boer War*, by Colonel Pollock,³ a Reserve officer, who was allowed to act as one of the *Times* correspondents, may also be glanced at, as a record of facts noted by the trained eye of the soldier who has studied his profession. Colonel Pollock's book may be regarded therefore as lying half-way between the journalistic and the professional classes of literature.

At this half-way house should perhaps also be placed the diaries and records of the volunteers and irregulars who played such a gallant part in the war. *With Rimington*, by March Phillipps;⁴ *A Subaltern's Letters to his Wife*;⁵ *The Record of the Mounted*

¹ H. F. P. Battersby, *In the Web of a War* (London, 1900).

² London, 1901.

³ London, 1900.

⁴ London, 1901.

⁵ By Reginald Rankin, London, 1901.

Infantry of the City Imperial Volunteers, by Lieutenants Scott and McDonnell;¹ *One Thousand Miles with the C. I. V.*, by J. Barclay Lloyd;² and *Two Years at the Front*, by Lieutenant Moeller,³ may be taken as typical specimens of this group of the South African literature. They are all written from the personal point of view of the author, either as an individual seeing war for the first time, or as a member of a unit whose share in the operations he desires to place on record. They are not quite of the same value as the regimental histories of regular corps, seeing that the writers lack the professional training which would enable them to discern the facts of importance to the professional student. Thus the text of the orders actually issued to the troops, the formations in which they marched and fought, their fine discipline, he has ignored. On the other hand the dramatic incidents of a fight, the personal experiences of the writer, the food and shelter he obtains from time to time, are set forth with superfluous ampleness. The chief value of such books lies in their laying open to an investigator the spirit and thoughts of the amateur soldier who, moved by patriotism and love of adventure, throws aside his normal work in life and, rifle in hand, thrusts himself forward in defense of the nation's interests. The actual facts and figures such narratives contain should, however, be accepted with caution, and when possible verified by reference to official despatches and records.

The observations of the regular soldiers who played a part in the war must of necessity be offered a higher rank than those of amateurs. Unfortunately not many as yet have been confided to the hands of a publisher. Professional officers shrink justly from criticizing the actions and orders of superiors, many of whom are still in high places; and, although some of the principal actors in the scene such as Lord Roberts, Sir Redvers Buller, Sir George White, Sir Henry Colville, and Major-general Gatacre (the last of whom lately passed over to the majority) are no longer holding active commands, yet, while they live, a full and frank discussion of their merits and demerits is hardly to be expected from professional critics. Two books, however, have appeared, which cannot be ignored: *The Work of the Ninth Division*, by Major-general Sir H. Colville,⁴ and *Words by an Eyewitness: the Struggle in Natal* by "Linesman".⁵ Sir H. Colville's work is of peculiar interest. One of the group of Guardsmen, who devote their lives and energies whole-heartedly to the profession of arms, he entered on the South

¹ London, 1902.

² London, 1900.

³ London, 1903.

⁴ London, 1901.

⁵ London, 1901.

African War with active service experience won in the Soudan and Uganda, both of which campaigns had been portrayed by his own pen. During Lord Methuen's advance from the Orange River Colville was brigadier of the Guards Brigade, a situation which he filled so satisfactorily at Belmont, Graspan, the Modder, and unlucky Magersfontein that on the eve of Lord Roberts's march he was promoted to the command of the new Ninth Division, made up of the Highland and Smith-Dorrien brigades. In that capacity he figured at the battle of Paardeberg, although but little scope was then given by Lord Kitchener's overmastering personality for the exercise of the responsibilities usually attached to a divisional commander. Moreover, in common with his colleague Kelly-Kenny, the other divisional general present, Colville differed from the chief of the staff's conception that one determined effort would suffice to break down the resistance of Cronje's burghers and rush the laager. Events proved the divisional commanders to be right in their forecast; but from that time Colville seems to have lost ground at headquarters. Two months later he was despatched in hot haste from Bloemfontein with his division to disentangle Broadwood's column from the trap of Sanna's Post. He arrived to find the fight over, and his infantry soldiers, already weary by a forced march, were easily evaded by De Wet's mounted commando, retiring hastily with its booty of captured guns and wagons. No direct censure was conveyed to Colville for this failure, but his command was slowly cut down to a brigade and a couple of guns. Accompanied by this force, he was on the march from Lindley to Heilbron in June, 1900, when he received a request for help from the officer commanding a newly raised Irish Yeomanry regiment which had been cut off at Lindley in his rear. Colville conceived his orders from headquarters to preclude his retracing his steps. The Yeomanry surrendered, and the lieutenant-general was deprived of his command and sent home. Sir Henry's book deals with these events naturally from his point of view, and is in substance an *apologia*. Much can no doubt be said on both sides. There are some who still think that the superseded general had somewhat hard measure dealt to him. Others will rightly lay stress on the magnitude of a commander-in-chief's responsibility to the nation and the army, and on the necessity laid upon him for subordinating all personal considerations to the need of securing leaders in whom he can place absolute confidence. Be that as it may, Colville's book is written fairly and with little bitterness. It throws instructive light on the staff arrangements existing at Lord Roberts's headquarters, and may be accepted on questions of fact as on the whole trustworthy.

The work of "Linesman" is of a totally different character. The writer, Captain Grant, Devonshire Regiment, was present as a company commander at all the actions on the Tugela. The *Times* in reviewing the work declared that "among the many books which have found their birth in the Campaign against the Boers this one stands out, not merely on account of the Author's literary merits, keen power of observation, and attractive phraseology, but in its unprejudiced comments and clever handling of battle impressions hitherto unattempted by contemporary writers. It is the work of an artist." This praise is not one whit too strong. Captain Grant's literary style is that of one both artist and dramatist who desires to bring before his reader's mind a vision of war as seen by an artist's eye, and who enforces attention by giving his vision a dramatic setting and surrounding it with such a wealth of color as to lift out of the commonplace even the most ordinary incident. To the civilian reader this method of writing military history comes as a revelation. He finds himself taken by the hand and placed in the very heart of the battle. He can hear the clock-clock of the Mauser rifle, the soft whiff of the bullet as it flicks up the dust at his feet, and the crack of the shrapnel as it bursts overhead. He can see the men plunge forward on their faces as a straight shot arrests their rush; he can watch the flaming eyes and gripping hand of the survivors as they press home the final charge; his veins tingle with delight at the sound of the British cheer which carries the position. Yet to the professional soldier there is a little too much drama, and not quite enough scientific, unimpassioned attempt so to tell the tale of war as to help the student to master its true lessons. The book shows "Linesman" to be a keen observer and an artist to his finger-tips, but strategy is a matter with which he is rarely concerned, and a battle appears to represent to him little more than an exciting series of independent duels fought by companies with the force immediately opposing them. He fails somewhat to realize that the historian of a battle should study its details from the point of view rather of the General Staff than of a company leader.

One other book of this class deserves mention, *On the Heels of De Wet* by "The Intelligence Officer".¹ Its author did not hold a commission in the regular army, but commenced the campaign as one of the *Times* correspondents. In the later phases of the war he was gazetted to a Yeomanry regiment and attached as intelligence staff officer to a mobile column, which shared in the prolonged De Wet hunt. He describes in an admirable manner the difficulties

¹ London, 1902.

which beset the column and its intelligence staff in that task. Written with knowledge and humor, the book depicts the hopes and disappointments of guerrilla war; and although the suppression of names precludes its classification as history, yet it may well be run through by the historical student who desires to realize the atmosphere of that period, to get the smell of the veld in his nostrils, the whistle of the sniper's bullet in his ears, and the vision of the great, barren plateau, the boulder-strewn kopjes, and the stony drifts before his eyes.

We have considered as yet only English military. If they offer but scanty material for the historian to deal with, he must not hope for compensations from the other side. The Boer is more skillful with the rifle than with the pen, and although the present generation contains individuals such as Steyn, Louis Botha, Advocate Smuts, and others who hold their own in intellectual circles, a South African literature has yet to be made, and the Bible is still to the majority of Boers the only book required by man. To this lack of local demand must be attributed the fact that with one exception no Boer account of the Boer War has yet appeared. To soldiers as well as to the historian it is a matter of peculiar regret that the story of the gallant resistance against superior numbers made by a patriotic nation should not have been told by both sides. Nor does the solitary break in this self-imposed rule of silence compensate fully for the lack of other accounts. *Three Years' War*, by General De Wet,¹ although a book to be read, is in many ways disappointing. Dictated in haste from memory for the Continental market, it lacks the accuracy of historical work. Yet it cannot be neglected, for it sets down De Wet's recollections of his dramatic personal experiences, so far as a man who kept no notes and no diary can record facts accurately after a lapse of two years. Its very roughness and simplicity enable the reader to appreciate the merits and demerits of the author as a national leader. It is much to be hoped that other Boers will follow the example set by the late commander-general of the Free State, refreshing, however, their memories carefully from such historical records as they may possess. Military narratives by Generals Louis Botha, Delarey, and Cronje would be read eagerly by the British army and warmly welcomed.

Fortunately, however, there were with the Boers a few who by training and inclination were qualified to tell the truth frankly and impartially. Of the reports of the military attachés with the Boer forces, only one has been made public, that of Captain Carl Reich-

¹ London and New York, 1902.

mann, United States Army, extracts of which are to be found in *Reports on Military Operations in South Africa and China*, published by the Adjutant General's Office at Washington.¹ Captain Reichmann gives an excellent and informing sketch of the strength, organization, training, armament, and mobilization system of the Boers, and is, moreover, a valuable witness as to the facts connected with the actions at which he was present, which include most of the fights after Paardeberg up to the occupation of Pretoria. It is unnecessary to add that his report, as well as that of his colleague Captain Slocum,² has been read by British officers with close attention and respect. Next to Captain Reichmann the most valuable foreign witness is Colonel de Villebois-Mareuil, a retired French officer who took service under President Kruger and was killed in action at the head of his men near Boshof in April, 1900. His *War Notes*³ were written from day to day while actually at the front, and reveal unsparingly the fatal weakness inherent in ill-disciplined and untrained national forces such as the Boers. Its perusal excites emotions of sympathy for the professional soldier, who landed in South Africa so full of enthusiasm for what he regarded as a just cause, and whose trained eye saw immediately on his arrival at the front the hopelessness of the whole business. Yet Villebois-Mareuil, having set his hand to the plow, looked not back, but did his duty till the God of Battles gave him his release. Other interesting foreign testimony to the Boer methods of fighting and the actual condition of affairs in the ranks of the commandos are to be found in *Ten Months in the Field with the Boers*,⁴ by a lieutenant of Villebois-Mareuil and in a book by a German officer, Captain Otto von Lossberg, *Mit Santa Barbara in Südafrika*.⁵

This completes the list of the more important unofficial historical material which has yet appeared. For the student who desires to gather his facts from original sources, the list cannot be said to be satisfactory. Even for the first part of the war, when the dramatic nature of the operations excited profound interest, the unofficial narratives are inadequate and unreliable. On the later phases, the long struggle between Lord Kitchener and De Wet's guerrilla bands, the books which have been written by eye-witnesses may be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. The regular war correspondents had in fact been recalled home, and the arrangements made for those "drives" which gradually sapped the Boer strength were too intricate and too confidential to be fully understood by any but the

¹ No. XXXIII. (July, 1901), Washington, 1901, pp. 93-259.

² *Ibid.*, 7-92.

³ London, 1901.

⁴ London, 1901.

⁵ Leipzig, 1903.

Headquarters Staff. The general public at home was, moreover, by this time becoming bored with the war and indifferent to the extraordinary difficulties of devising means for overcoming guerrilla tactics and capturing the guerrilla bands which were scattered throughout an area stretching from the Limpopo to the Cape Peninsula and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic.

Fortunately in official documents may be found more complete and reliable records of both the earlier and the later phases of the war. These records, so far as yet published, consist of telegrams and despatches, the evidence given before the royal commission assembled to inquire into the South African War, and regimental histories. Official telegrams vary greatly in value. Some have been written for public consumption at times when it was of importance to conceal the real truth from the enemy. Others are of extraordinary historical value, but are often too confidential for publication at the time, and unless unearthed by Parliament for some special purpose are relegated to departmental pigeonholes, accessible only to the official historian. Despatches stand on a different footing. They are generally regarded with undue reverence as containing the full, accurate, and final report made by the commander-in-chief in the field to the government at home. Theoretically, no doubt, this is the case, but the resentment felt both by Parliament and by the public at the suppression or pruning of any portion of a general's despatches has long resulted in the adoption of other means for the unfolding of his mind to the Secretary of State for War. Nearly a hundred years ago Lord Liverpool instructed the Duke of Wellington to send home from the Peninsula two sets of despatches, one for public information, the other for the confidential perusal of the Cabinet. It is moreover a pleasing fallacy to imagine that all despatches are the *ipsissima verba* of the officer who signs them. This tradition dates from the days of Wellington, who had a special aptitude for the task, but in modern war a despatch, although written under a general's direction, is frequently drafted by one of his staff. In the British army this duty as a rule devolves on the military secretary. In other armies it falls on the Great General Staff. Nevertheless the general in command is responsible for the despatch as a whole, and often impresses upon it the stamp of his individuality.

Subject to these limitations, the South African despatches are full of interest and are of considerable historical importance, varying, however, with the idiosyncrasies of each commander, and the restraint imposed upon him by the situation at the moment of writing. Lord

Methuen's hastily indited communications from the battle-field are characterized by the enthusiasm of an officer exercising independent command for the first time. His engagements were described as the bloodiest known to modern war, and his traps as the most gallant. Sir George White's run on different lines. In the field that field-marshal has ever been a hot, impetuous fighter. But his reports are cold in the lucidity of their style, rigidly accurate in their facts, and masterly in their exposition of motives. Sir Redvers Buller is not equally happy. He sets forth his story plainly and simply; there are passages in his despatches—such as the famous "It was the men who did it" at the end of the report on the relief of Ladysmith—which stir a soldier's blood. Yet the true pathos of General Buller's reports lies in their revelation of himself, of that weakness of character and infirmity of purpose which hampered him and his troops so fatally. In this respect the Spion Kop despatches covering Warren's recrimination are indeed a tragedy. Lord Roberts's official letters are of a very different character. Drafted by the masterly pen of one of his staff, they set forth in perfect diction an admirable summary of the work done and the results achieved. In their criticism of subordinates these documents combine in an ideal manner a judicial spirit with definitiveness of decision. But from a historical point of view their reticence and brevity are a cause for regret. They give what they were intended to give, merely the outline of the picture; the details and the coloring must be filled in from other sources. Lord Kitchener's reports on the last eighteen months of the war are open to the same charge. Written at periodical intervals, they are limited to a mere summary of such events as could from time to time without inconveniences to the service be communicated to the public press in England. They were meant merely for popular consumption at the moment, and although in a sense forming a useful sort of diary of events, can hardly be regarded as serious official documents.

Material of even greater interest and importance than that in official despatches may be found abundantly by the historian in the *Minutes of Evidence* taken by the Royal Commission on the South African War. Here are printed *in extenso* the actual warnings—and they were many and frankly worded—given to the British government by the Intelligence Division of the War Office during the three years preceding the war. Here is set out to what extent and why these warnings were disregarded. The exact strength and disposition of the troops in South Africa at the outbreak of the war are given in these volumes. Each commander, Roberts,

Kitchener, White, Buller, Warren, Methuen, Gatacre, French, Hunter, Ian Hamilton, Colville, Kekewich, Baden-Powell, and many others state in turn his version of the part he played in the war, and of the motives by which he was guided. The gaps are filled in by the evidence of staff and departmental officers. The characteristics, the weakness, and the strength of the troops which fought in South Africa, and of the machinery for their administration are set forth in full, and commented upon by both professional and amateur observers. No government and no army administration have perhaps ever before placed their cards on the table after this fashion on the conclusion of a war. Unfortunately this very frankness defeated the object aimed at, the institution of a sound system of army reform. The *Report* was published in the holiday season, and created a momentary sensation, but the evidence was too voluminous. Not one man in a thousand, possibly not one man in a million of the population of the United Kingdom has ever studied carefully these unique volumes of the testimony of men who have seen the truth and know it.

The newspaper summaries of the *Report* were alone scanned by the general public, and with such unappreciative carelessness that the nation a few months later allowed itself to be lulled to sleep again by another report, that of the Esher Committee. Whether army reformers will ever now digest the evidence given before the War Commission seems doubtful, but for the historian at any rate there are few documents which will repay more fully exhaustive study.

A good regimental history with a clear account of the part played by an individual unit in a campaign, its marches, formations, and triumphs is a real treasure-trove to the writer of military history. Unfortunately the South African campaign has failed to produce the abundant crop of such works that might have been expected. With some exceptions, such as the Guards, the Immiskilling Dragoons, the Royal Scots, the Yorkshire Regiment, the Rifle Brigade, the Essex, and the Connaught Rangers, regimental achievements remain unrecorded, or, if written, have not been published. The omission is surprising, for in no other army is regimental *esprit de corps* more cherished and regimental distinctions more tenaciously maintained than in the British service. The explanations of this neglect would seem to be that the value of historical records was not appreciated by regimental officers before the war, and, except as a disagreeable form of mental torture invented for examination purposes, the study of military history was rarely

attempted. A new era has since dawned. Throughout the winter months the regimental officer under the supervision of his lieutenant-colonel now devotes much attention to the examination of past campaigns and to the deduction therefrom of lessons for the future. When next the British army takes the field, the necessity for noting its methods of action and their results will be understood.

Such then is the historical material at the disposal of the student who desires to undertake original researches as to the true facts of the South African War. It must be candidly admitted that the prospect is not at the present encouraging, and the searcher after knowledge will find himself compelled to ask for help from the labors of others who have enjoyed special advantages and had access to persons and documents unapproachable by the general public.

We will turn, therefore, to the works of actual laborers in the historical vineyard. The fashion has grown up in England—I do not know whether it is prevalent in the United States—of issuing, during the progress of a war which attracts public attention, profusely illustrated popular books, which profess to lay before their readers history, red-hot from its making like a baker's rolls. These works no doubt answer their publishers' purpose. They have a considerable although purely ephemeral sale, and in the case of a national struggle fan a healthy spirit of patriotism. But it must be confessed that they have no pretension to be included in the historian's library. Their text is for the most part compiled by the scissors and paste process from the columns of newspapers. Their illustrations are strangely dissimilar to the realities of modern war, and are often palpably the work of artists who have never been under fire, and whose acquaintance with battle-fields is limited to a study of Napoleonic pictures and of melodrama as presented by the suburban stage. It is unnecessary therefore to trouble the readers of this review by enumerating works of this class given birth to by the South African War. Their brief day has passed and, save to satisfy curiosity, it would be waste of time to dip into their pages. Their elimination, however, limits—at the moment of writing—the number of actual histories of the campaign which will repay careful examination to three, Dr. Conan Doyle's *Great Boer War*,¹ the *Times History of the War in South Africa*,² and the English translation of the account of the war compiled by the Great General Staff at Berlin.³

¹ Revised and enlarged edition, New York, 1902.

² Four volumes published, 1900, 1902, 1905, 1906.

³ Two vols., London, 1904, 1906.

Dr. Doyle's work is the only popular narrative of the war which has any just claim to be regarded as history. It compresses within the pages of a handy volume the story of the whole campaign from start to finish. Whatever Conan Doyle writes has a swing and a sparkle of its own, but on this occasion he has aimed higher than merely to interest and amuse. He desired, as a good Englishman, to lay before his fellow-countrymen in a compact form a reliable narrative of the prolonged struggle. He lost no opportunity of collecting at first hand, and of insuring, so far as may be, accuracy in his statements. The results of his efforts may on the whole be said to be not unsatisfactory. The work was produced too soon to rank as a reliable historical authority. Its details are in places distressingly inaccurate. Yet on the whole Conan Doyle paints a not untruthful general picture of the campaign, a picture which may be scanned with advantage by the reader who has not the time or inclination for more extensive study. Indeed even for the more earnest student it forms at present the only coherent and complete account of the last phase of the war which has yet been published.

The *Times History* stands on a higher foundation and has a higher claim for respectful reception. The advantages enjoyed by the compilers are probably greater than any ever possessed by unofficial writers undertaking such a task. The *Times*, it is true, can no longer be regarded as an infallible guide to changes in public opinion. The decision on the final appeal of the people at a general election lies now in the hands of the masses, to whom the *Times* is but a name. Yet as a source of information, as an organ to which the leaders of every school of thought address their observations on current affairs, the *Times* is indispensable for all who desire to keep themselves fully up to date in the development of thought in England. It is thus the one paper which all men regard with a certain reverence and even fear. The support of the *Times* is a factor which no public man can afford to despise, be he statesman or soldier. Its influence is potent even on a campaign. A general who is attacked vehemently by this journal knows that it may become difficult for the government to retain him in command. The leader whom the *Times* belauds may snap his fingers at other criticism. The knowledge of this influence insures—although, be it said to the credit of the British officer, with some exceptions—that the representatives of the *Times* at the seat of war receive favorable treatment. Its correspondents in South Africa—and they were numerous—enjoyed therefore as a rule the best facilities for acquiring

information as to the inner history of the conduct of the campaign. Nor was that all. As soon as it became known that that journal proposed to produce a history of the war and had appointed Mr. L. S. Amery, its chief correspondent in South Africa, as its editor, there was a disposition both amongst the higher authorities and amongst regimental officers to assist in the task. The *Times* reaped the benefit of that reputation for impartiality which on the whole is justly its due. Equipped with these military advantages and with the other resources of a great journal, very high expectations were formed of the history which would be produced under such auspices. It is perhaps a matter of opinion how far these expectations have been fulfilled in the first three volumes. The first, it is true, is in every way worthy of its birthplace. Dealing exhaustively with the course of the war, it sets forth with excellent judgment and tact the history of the political disputes between Great Britain and the South African Republic, which were so abruptly referred to the arbitration of arms by President Kruger's ultimatum. The righteousness of the British cause, and the truth that the sole object of Lord Salisbury's government was to obtain "equal rights for all white men in South Africa" are vindicated with a lucidity and accuracy unlikely to be surpassed. The volume may therefore be accepted as a complete historical statement of Great Britain's case. The second volume opens with the story of the actual campaign, and carries it forward to the events of the "Black Week" with its triple defeats of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso. The third covers the ground from the decision to send out Lord Roberts to the occupation of Bloemfontein. The *Times* contemporaries have, with one exception, been unanimous in giving a reception no less favorable to these two volumes than that accorded to the first. The second volume was read eagerly by the general public, and was regarded for the moment as fulfilling in every way the requirements of military history. The marked diminution of interest in South African War literature which lapse of time and the overshadowing of that campaign by events in the Far East have occasioned much reduced the number of readers of the third volume, but by those civilians who have read it it is certainly deemed to reach the high standard of its predecessors. From a literary point of view, so far as men whose trade it is to fight and not to make literature may judge, soldiers indorse this verdict. The ease with which the writers unravel their intricate story and unroll before the reader's eye the varying drama of the war discloses literary gifts of the highest order, and stamps the book as one which, what-

ever its historical merits, will live for many generations. But both for soldier and for historian this alone does not suffice. For them the crucial tests are, first, accuracy in statement of fact and, secondly, a right judgment in the inferences to be drawn from the facts. As regards the first test, accuracy, the two volumes differ much in merit. The second, dealing with the earliest phases of the war, was brought out somewhat rapidly with the object of achieving a large sale before the interest of the general public had begun to fade. Its writers moreover did not quite realize the length of time needed for historical researches. They labored moreover under the serious disadvantage of going to press before the *Report* of the Royal Commission was published, thus missing much important material. For these reasons the second volume cannot be accepted as a satisfactory record of the events of the campaign down to the battle of Colenso. Its very wealth of detail is the more dangerous as serving to conceal imperfect knowledge and inaccurate statements. The third volume is free from such blemishes. There are slips here and there, but on the whole the two years' longer labor expended on it have enabled the writers to attain a degree of accuracy very superior to that displayed in the second.

But in history of every description, and especially military history, facts are in one sense unimportant. What really matters are the lessons to be drawn from the facts, and in a secondary degree the judgments to be pronounced on individuals. Weighed in this balance with each other, the second and third volumes are by no means even, and yet both have in common a grave defect, the over-severity which characterizes the criticism of an amateur who has mastered the jargon of a science and some of the science, but does not appreciate the difficulty of its technique. In the second volume this over-severity is so marked a feature as to be not only a grave injustice to individuals but even a distortion of the whole historical focus of the campaign. Sir George White, for instance, is criticized with a certain contemptuous air of superior knowledge for not having sent away his cavalry before the siege of Ladysmith, and for not having increased the fourteen miles of his line of defense to twenty by the inclusion therein of Bulwana Mountain. No professional soldier would have perpetrated such a blunder as to place side by side two criticisms which are mutually self-destructive. If the cavalry had been sent out of Ladysmith, the force left would have been inadequate to hold the line of defense. Its curtailment, not enlargement, would have been instantly forced on the general in command, and no curtailment was possible without surrendering

to the enemy positions which would have rendered prolonged defense impossible. Yet the writers of this volume have evidently no particular animus against the defender of Ladysmith. On the whole perhaps they treat him with more fairness than other leaders, but they pose too much as frank and candid critics of the British army, assuming as the foundation of their criticism that our difficulties in South Africa during the war of 1899-1900 were entirely due to the imperfect training of the troops and the incapacity of their commanders. The assumption is untrue and, being untrue, has led to a false standard of criticism and to the painting of a false picture. That the British army had much to learn in South Africa, and that many mistakes were made, every member of it will admit; but this admission must equally be made in every campaign by every army. The real cause of the gravity of the situation in Natal and Cape Colony in the last quarters of 1899 was the fact that the British government had allowed its diplomacy to outstrip its preparation for war. The twin sisters strategy and policy were not moving forward hand in hand, and their separation left British generals to face in the field an enemy not merely superior in numbers, a matter which could have been regarded with equanimity, but greatly superior in mobility and in knowledge of the country. This, and not the imperfections of officers and men, is the true governing factor of the whole of the first phase of the South African War. In failing to realize its importance the *Times* historian has placed that phase in a false focus, and thus distorted the reader's appreciation of its lessons.

The same error, though in another form, appears in the third volume, notwithstanding its historical value as a narrative of facts. It is tinged throughout with the Carthaginian tradition of crucifying the unsuccessful general. Its criticisms are in the main sound. Indeed there are grounds for believing that they are based on opinions of a body of experts held in respect by soldiers throughout the civilized world. The marked similarity between the general conclusions set forth in the *Times History* as to the operations on the Tugela and the events of Lord Roberts's march on Bloemfontein and those which appeared later in the account issued by the German General Staff is very noticeable, and, if rumor be correct, is not due to any mere accidental coincidence in opinion. The Berlin narrative calls attention to the imperfections in staff work in both the eastern and the western theatres of war; it condemns in clear language the desire to find a new way to victory without shedding of blood, which marked Sir Redvers Buller's battles on the Tugela

and Lord Roberts's enveloping tactics at Poplar Grove and subsequent actions. The *Times* historian accepts in these respects the German Staff's criticism, but, while the latter state their views in quiet professional language, which is helpful without being offensive, the former cannot resist scourging his victims with whips steeped in acid brine. For absolute disregard of the feelings both of the living and of the friends of the dead no more striking example can be found in modern English literature than the manner in which Hamay's ill-timed charge at Paardeberg is portrayed by the *Times* historian. A mistake was of course made, and a badly worded order was badly interpreted, but it is rank brutality to depict the gallant Hamay as a mad fool, uselessly driven to death by a relentless taskmaster.

The German General Staff's history of the South African War is confined to two volumes which deal in detail with the campaign down to the seizure of Bloemfontein, although a brief strategical précis of the after course of the war is appended. Its fairness of tone has already been noted. The criticisms are throughout the criticisms of professional soldiers with a just appreciation of the difficulties of the tasks confronting a commander in the field. When censure is pronounced, there is a certain graceful reluctance to condemn a comrade. The charges of inhumanity, so freely levelled at one time by Continental critics against the British army, are repudiated emphatically. The courage and devotion to duty displayed by officers and men are handsomely acknowledged. The German account is thus a work which all British soldiers can read without offense and which the soldiers of all armies may read with profit. Its translation—the first volume by Colonel Waters, and the second by Lieutenant-colonel Du Cane—is admirably done; the maps and plans which illustrate the two, although inferior to those of the *Times History*, suffice for their purpose.

It cannot be held that either of these three histories forms an adequate record of the South African struggle. That war is, it is true, not to be compared either in strategical importance or in immediate political results with the Civil War in America, the Franco-German War, or the Manchurian campaign. Yet it was the first example of a combat in which both sides were armed with magazine-rifles and smokeless powder. On the Boer side it represents a gallant struggle made by two little communities against great odds. To Englishmen, although the strain of the combat was not so great as to test fully the strength of the empire, it presents both a warning and an encouragement: a warning of the

danger of indifference to preparation for war, and an encouragement in the belief that the British empire, if forethought be but exercised, will be true to and sufficient for itself in the time of danger. But besides these considerations the South African War in the vastness of its theatre, in its distance of six thousand miles from the British base, in its improvised army recruited from every quarter of the globe, and in its prolonged guerrilla phase presents features of profound professional interest to the statesman and the soldier.

The British government has therefore done well to sanction and direct the preparation of an official history of the war which both in its statements of facts and in its criticisms may be accepted as authoritative. The ferment of perpetual reorganization in which the unhappy War Office has seethed during recent years has not yet permitted the creation of a historical section of the General Staff. The compilation of the official history was therefore originally intrusted to Lieutenant-colonel G. F. Henderson, who served on Lord Roberts's staff as Director of Military Intelligence, and whose inimitable work on Stonewall Jackson may be said to have won for him cosmopolitan reputation. Unhappily for the interests of history, and still more unhappily for the British army, death removed that talented writer after some eighteen months spent in preliminary researches and in drafting an introductory volume dealing with the causes of the war. Major-general Sir Frederick Maurice, the official historian of the Egyptian campaign of 1882, and the author of the article on "War" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, was selected to take up the reins thus dropped. General Maurice had not the good fortune to be employed in the late South African campaign. He enjoys therefore now an impartial position, and will be able without bias to bring to bear on the various problems of the war a sound military judgment and the knowledge acquired by many years of study as Professor of Strategy at the Staff College.

The first instalment of the result of General Maurice's labors will be published immediately, perhaps before this article appears. Mr. Balfour's Cabinet decided, it is understood, before leaving office to suppress the first volume prepared by Colonel Henderson, deeming for various reasons that it is undesirable to introduce matters of political controversy into a military work published by authority. The decision not only deprived the world of the last product of Henderson's able pen, but certainly enhanced the difficulty of General Maurice's task. Policy and strategy are too closely

intertwined in practice to be thus severed from each other surgically by the historian, and cast mutilated into separate compartments for examination. The whole dispositions of the British troops both in Cape Colony and in Natal at the outbreak of the war were based on political rather than on strategical considerations. It is notorious that political pressure forced Lord Roberts to undertake the relief of Kimberley as his primary objective. As a strategist he would have shut his ears to the cries of its inhabitants for instant succor. It is notorious too that throughout the war the political attitude of the Cape Colonists was a far greater anxiety to successive British commanders-in-chief than the strength of the Boers actually in the field. Mr. Balfour's decision therefore is an additional proof that British statesmen have yet much to learn as to the true relationship between strategy and policy. How far General Maurice will find it possible to surmount or evade the obstacle which has thus been placed across his path will shortly be learned. His name is a guaranty that a conscientious endeavor is being made to place the whole truth before the world without partiality or concealment. There is some reason therefore to hope that the four volumes to which the official history of the South African War is to be confined will present to the world a just, accurate, and final record of that campaign.

Since the above was written the first volume of the official *History of the War in South Africa*¹ published by the British War Office has appeared. The authors are not, as is the usual practice in most armies, the General Staff; for the reorganization of Pall Mall, carried out on the injunctions of the famous Esher Committee two years ago, omitted to establish any Historical Section, whose duty it would be to collate from the past the lessons of war. The compilation of the South African War history was, therefore, intrusted to Major-general Sir Frederick Maurice, a retired officer with a considerable reputation as a military writer, assisted by a staff, mainly also composed of retired officers.

Three features stand out prominently in the narrative which has thus been prepared: (1) the omission of the causes of the war, (2) the extreme accuracy of the narrative itself, and (3) the brevity and restraint of its criticisms.

The omission of the causes of the war is much to be regretted. But if the commencement of the official *History* is therefore maimed and imperfect, the fault is not attributable to General Maurice, but

¹ London, Hurst and Blackett, 1906.

to Mr. Balfour's Cabinet. It is only fair, however, to add that this decision was due not to any doubts as to the righteousness of the British case, but to a desire to let bygones be bygones in South Africa.

Save this single defect, the official *History* would appear to serve well the purpose for which it has been written, namely, the instruction of the army. The popularity of the *Times History* is more evident amongst amateurs than with professional readers. The sting and virulence of its irresponsible criticism attract the former (who revel in its pungency) but repel the latter, who know the true difficulties of war. Moreover, in the second volume at least, the accuracy of its narrative is not altogether above suspicion. The official *History* has a truer aim; in accuracy of statement it leaves nothing to be desired, while for the most part it seeks to present the facts to the reader in so clear a form that, given ordinary professional judgment and knowledge, he can deduce therefrom the true lessons. The soldier who studies the *Times History* has thrust under his eyes a key to all the problems which present themselves for solution, but, if his mind be already stored with a knowledge of war and if his judgment be unbiassed, he will find reason to doubt the infallibility of the key. If on the other hand he reads the official *History*, he must exert his own mental faculties to arrive at the true solution, but he will find them stimulated and assisted by undoubtedly impartial narratives, written by soldiers for the information of soldiers.

The authors of the *Times History* are no doubt patriotic Englishmen who desire to drive home into the English nation and army the true lessons of the war. But the army mistrusts the virulence of its criticisms, while the British nation has been encouraged by this very virulence in its extraordinary delusion that every civilian knows more about the art of war than a professional soldier. The nation, moreover, is at the present moment in one of those moods in which it regards all military questions with apathetic cynicism. It is unlikely, therefore, to study a book like the official *History*, which fails to afford the attraction of the impalement of unsuccessful generals. By the soldier, however, who desires to master his profession, the official *History of the War in South Africa* will be found a mine in which true ore can be dug. To the impartial historical student it presents evidence which may be accepted as above suspicion.

A BRITISH OFFICER.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Letters of Thomas Newe from South Carolina, 1682*

THESE letters were used by Professor Charles M. Andrews in his *Colonial Self-Government*, and it was he who called the managing editor's attention to them; but they have not hitherto been printed. They are to be found in MS. Rawlinson D. 810 in the Bodleian Library. MS. Rawlinson D. 810 is a volume of miscellaneous collections partly transcribed from collections of Hannibal Baskerville, of Bayworth, Berks, but chiefly written by his son Thomas, relative to their family, their friends, and the University of Oxford, of the most varied and interesting nature. Thomas Newe's letters are imbedded in the description of Exeter College, as follows:

Exeter College. . . . This Colledge is Capacious and large enough to entertaine and lodge 120 people (so saith Mr. Crabb and Mr. Oliver Schollers in't) but my friend Mr. Newe the present Butler saith it is capacious enough for 150 people. . . .

The Gentlemen which I can remember that have been and now are of my acquaintance in this Colledge are these . . . Mr. Newe my loving friend and Butler of this Colledge as aforesaid, who had an ingenious son sometimes a Scholler of this House; who went one of the earliest Planters to Carolina whose loss, with his dear father I do much lament as being deprived by his death of further intelligence from those parts; yet to make him live what we can in our Memory take here an account of that plantation, as it came in letters from him before any narrative of that place was put in print:

May the 17th, 1682, from CHARLES TOWN ON
Ashley River by way of Barbadoes in the
Samuel.

Most Honourd Father:

The 12th of this instant by the providence of God after a long and tedious passage we came to an Anchor against Charles town at 10 in the night in 3½ fathom water, on the sixth we made land 60 miles to the South of Ashley River against which we came the 8 but could not get in by reason of contrary winds sooner then we did. We had little or nothing observable in the whole voyage, but the almost continual S.W. winds. God be thanked I had my health very well except a day or two of Sea sickness but most of the other passengers were much troubled with the scurvy; Of 62 that came out of England we lost 3, two of them

were seamen, one dyed of the scurvey, the other fell overboard, the third was a woman in child bed, her child died shortly after her. As for the Country I can say but little of it as yet on my one knowledge, but what I hear from others. The Town which two years since had but 3 or 4 houses, hath now about a hundred houses in it,¹ all which are wholly built of wood, tho here is excellent Brick made, but little of it. All things are very dear in the Town; milk 2 d a quart, beefe 4 d a pound, pork 3 d, but far better then our English, the common drink of the Country is Molossus and water, I don't hear of any mault that is made hear as yet. The English Barly and Wheat do thrive very well, but the Indian corn being more hearty and profitable, the other is not much regarded. I am told that there is great plenty of all things in the Country, whither I intend to go as soon as conveniently I can dispose of my goods, which I fear will not be soon, nor to such advantage as we expected. Severall in the Country have great stocks of Cattle and they sell so well to new comers that they care not for killing, which is the reason provision is so dear in the Town, whilst they in the Country are furnisht with Venison, fish, and fowle by the Indians for trifles, and they that understand it make as good butter and cheese as most in England. The land near the sea side is generally a light and sandy ground, but up in the Country they say there is very good land, and the farther up the better, but that which at present doth somewhat hinder the selling [settling] farther up, is a war that they are engaged in against a tribe of Barbarous Indians being not above 60 in number, but by reason of their great growth and cruelty in feeding on all their neighbours, they are terrible to all other Indians, of which, there are above 40 severall Kingdoms, the strength and names of them all being known to our Governur who upon any occasion summons their Kings in. We are at peace with all but those common enemies of mankind, those man eaters before mentioned, by name the Westos,² who have lately killed two eminent planters that lived far up in the Country, so that they are resolved now if they can find their settlement (which they often change) to cut them all off. There is a small party of English out after them, and the most potent Kingdome of the Indians armed by us and continually in pursuit of them. When we came into Ashley river we found six small vessels in the Harbour, but great ones may and have come in by the assistance of a good Pilot, and if they can make good wine hear, which they have great hopes of, and this year will be the time of tryall which if it hits no doubt but the place will flourish exceedingly, but if the vines do not prosper I question whither it will ever be any great place of trade. On Sunday the 14th of this instant a small vessell that came

¹ The removal to Oyster Point, between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, had taken place in 1680. Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina*, 1682 (Carroll, II. 24), confirms this estimate of one hundred houses.

² For the war with them, see *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685*, pp. 508-510.

from Mewis¹ hither, was cast away upon the Bar, but the men and goods were all saved. This is the first opportunity I have had to write since I came from England but I hope to find more opportunities here, then I had at Sea, this with my most humble duty to yourself and my Mother, my kind love to my sister and Brothers being all from

Your most dutifull and obedient son

THOMAS NEWE

My duty to my Grandmother and my love to all my relations and friends that enquire concerning me.

May 29th, 1682, by way of
Barbados.

Most Honoured Father:

The 17th of this Instant by way of Barbados in the Samuel, being the 1st opportunity since my departure from England, I sent you a letter wherein I gave you an account of our safe arrival, but not of the Voyage, that I leave to my Journall which I intend to send by the first Ship that goes directly for England, with my knowledge of the Countrey of which I have not seen much yet, but one thing I understand (to my sorrow) that I knew not before, the most have a seasoning, but few dye of it. I find the Commonalty here to be mightily dissatisfied, the reason is 3 or 4 of the great ones, for furs and skins, have furnished the Indians, with arms and ammunitions especially those with whome they are now at War, for from those they had all or most of their fur, so that trade which 3 or 4 only kept in their hands is at present gone to decay, and now they have armed the next most potent tribe of the Indians to fight the former, and some few English there are out, looking after them, which is a charge to the people and a stop [to] the further settling of the Countrey. The Soyl is generally very light, but apt to produce whatsoever is put into it. There are already all sorts of English fruit and garden herbs besides many others that I never saw in England, and they do send a great deal of Pork, Corn and Cedar to Barbados, besides the victualling of severall Vessels that come in here, as Privateers and others which to do in the space of 12 years the time from the 1st seating of it by the English, is no small work, especially if we consider the first Planters which were most of them tradesmen, poor and wholly ignorant of husbandry and till of late but few in number, it being encreased more the 3 or 4 last years then the whole time before, the whole at presen[t] not amounting to 4000,² so that their whole Business was to clear a little ground to get Bread for their Familyes, few of them having where-withall to purchase a Cow, the first stock whereof they were furnished

¹ I. e., Nevis.

² "T. A.," who was in the province from 1680 to 1682, says in his *Carolina* (Carroll, I. 82), "At our being there was judged in the Country a 1000 or 1200 Souls; but the great Numbers of Families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, which daily Transport themselves thither, have more than doubled that Number."

with, from Bermudas and New England, from the later of which they had their horses which are not so good as those in England, but by reason of their scarcity much dearer, an ordinary Colt at 3 years old being valued at 15 or 16 lis. as they are scarce, so there is but little use of them yet, all Plantations being seated on the Rivers, they can go to and fro by Canoo or Boat as well and as soon as they can ride, the horses here like the Indians and many of the English do travail without shoes. Now each family hath got a stock of Hogs and Cows, which when once a little more encreased, they may send of to the Islands cheaper then any other place can, by reason of its propinquity, which trade alone will make it far more considerable then either Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, and those other places to the North of us.

I desire you would be pleased by the next opportunity to send me over the best herbalist for Physical Plants in as small a Volume as you can get. There was a new one just came out as I left England, if I mistake not in 8^{vo}. that was much commended, the Author I have forgot.¹ but there are severall in the Colledge that can direct you to the best. If Mr. Sessions, Mr. Hobart or Mr. White, should send to you for money for the passage of a servant, whether man or boy that they Judge likely, I desire you would be pleased to send it them, for such will turn to good account here; and if you please to enquire at some Apothecarys what Sassafrass (which grows here in great plenty) is worth a pound and how and at what time of the year to cure it, let me know as soon as you can, for if the profit is not I am sure the knowledge is worth sending for. Pray Sir let me hear by the next how all our friends and relations do, what change in the Colledge, and what considerable alteration through the whole Town; I have now nothing more to speak but my desire that you may still retain (what I know you do) that love with which I dayly was blest and that readiness in pardoning whatsoever you find amiss, and to believe that my affections are not changed with the Climate unless like it too, grown warmer, this with my most humble duty to yourself and my mother, my kind love to my sister and Brothers and all the rest of our Friends I rest

Your most dutifull and obedient son,

THO: NEWE.

From Charls Town in Carolina.

From CHARLS TOWN, August the 23,
1682.

Most Honourd Father.

In obedience to your commands, I am ready to embrace every opportunity of sending to you, this is the 3rd, The 2nd first by way of Barbados, the 1st of the 17th, the 2nd of the 29th of May, which I hope you will receive long before this comes to your hands. This place affords little news, nothing worth sending. The 11th of June a French Privateer of

¹ Perhaps this was John Ray's *Methodus Plantarum Nova* (London, 1682, octavo).

4 Guns 30 men whereof 10 were English men brought in here a Spanish prize of 16 Guns and a 100 men, which by the Frenchmens confession they had never taken, had it not been for the English, they have already spent most of it and are providing to be gone againe.

The 30th of July cam an Indian to our Governour and told him that 800 Spaniards were upon their march coming from St. Augustine (a place belonging to our Proprietors about 150 miles to the South of us, where the Spaniards are seated and have a pretty strong Town) to fall upon the English, upon which the Council met 3 times and ordered 20 great Guns that lay at a place where the town was first designed to be made, to be brought to Charls Town, and sent Scouts at a good distance (knowing which way they must come) to discover their strength and the truth of it, which if they had seen anything were to return with all speed, and 700 men were to have met them, which were to lay in Ambuscade in a Cave, swam [*sic*] where the Spaniards were to come, through a Marsh, that every step they would be up to their middle. Our people were so far from being afraid that they mightily rejoyced at the news of it, wishing that they might have some just cause of War with the Spaniards, that they might grant Commissions to Privateers, and themselves fall on them at St. Augustine.¹ as we understand since this was the ground of the report, The Spaniards thinking themselves to be abused by a nation of Indians that lived betwixt them and us, marched out to cut of that Nation, to which this Indian belonged, which (as it is usual with the Indians) reported that they were 800, whereas some of the Privateers have been there, and say that they are not able to raise above 300 men. we have 100 Privateers here all shar like though not at the taking of the prize, which if our Governour would suffer them would fain fall on the Spaniards at St. Augustine; it is not likely if the Spaniards were so strong as the Indian reported, that they would send out such strength against them, For when the English have any war with a Nation of the Indians tho at 150 miles distance they think 20 English and 30 or 40 friendly Indians to be a sufficient party. The Indians are sent before to discover where the other Indians lay who if they see but [*gap in MS.*] of their enemyes they will returne with great speed and greater fear to the English reporting they saw 200.

The 20th of August I saw a Comet in the North East about 2 hours before day, the 21 it was seen in the west.² Sir of those goods you gave me of my Brothers, I have sold some, and most of them I bought in London, but I can not yet make any returne; for money here is but little and that Spanish which will not go for so much in England by 4 or 5 s in the li. Our pay is what the Countrey affords, as Corn, Pork, Tar and Cedar, the 3 first are fit only for the Islands. I know not whether the last will pay charges to England it can't be afforded under 30 or 32 s

¹ These sentiments were vividly manifested when the Spaniards actually did attack, in 1686.

² The celebrated "Halley's Comet."

profit in London, if you please you may enquire what it will yield in Oxon, and if you think it worth sending, and know how to dispose of it, I will take care to send it by the first, after I know your mind. Sir I have sent to Mr. Sessions for these following goods which are the best I can think of and I desire you, that you would let him have as much money as will buy them. Nuttmegs to the value of 5 li, Pepper 50 s. Cinnamon 25 s, Cloves and Mace 25 s, ½ a C of large Beads, blue and white, or white with streaks of blue or black, or blew with beads blew and white, or white with streaks of blew or black, 1 [gap] of blew Duffals, a quarter of a Cask of brandy, ½ doz white Castors, at about 8 or 10 s per piece, and one good French hat, 2 or 3 [gap] of fine thread to make lace, 500 small needles and 20 [gap] of that tape which is now in fashion to make lace with, 8 or 10 doz. of knives from 2 s 06 d to 5 s per doz., one good [gap] coat for myself and 2 C [weight] of pigeon shot. Sir I desire you with these things to send me ½ C of Shomakers thread and one of my Brothers shop books if you have one that is not used. Sir I beseech you pardon my presumption since 'twas your goodness made me so by your usuall readiness in granting my former requests. Pray present my humble duety to my Mother and my Grandmother, my kind love to my sister and Brothers and the rest of our Relations and be confident that I will be industrious to improve whatsoever you shall commit to my charge and to approve my self.

Your most Dutifull and obedient Son,
THOMAS NEWE.

2. *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland, 1705-1706*

[From a manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 2291, fol. 1) to which the attention has been called by Professor C. M. Andrews. The author's name is not known.]

OCT. 2D. 1705.

WEE sett saile from Plimouth in order to persue our voyage for Mariland. wee had a fine gale att East and where about 80 saile of us in Company and kept together for 5 or six weeks butt att East wee were seperated from em by a storm which lasted 7 Dayes in all which time wee were forced to live upon Biskett and Cheese the weather pmitting us nott to boyle our Kettle, butt when itt grew faire wee made severall of the flecte again. about Novr. 26 wee made the sumer Ilands which are Called the Bermoodas Ilands. they are Verry Pleasant by reason itt is most and end' fine weather there butt att this time they are very Barren nott 'producing anything so much as sugar oranges or Lemons. the onely thing itt produces is onions and a few Watter Melons in time of Yeare. there are some floale sheepe and Black Cattle tho no great stocke of either. the inhabitants are naturally Prone to lasiness for if they gett no ffish a satterday night to be sure they have no sunday Dinner. they are a mighty healthfull People and Live to a

¹ I. e., almost on end, almost continuously.

great age there being att that time severall upon the Iland who exceded above 100 Years old. there was one man att that time 117 years old and itt is verry Comon for 'em to live by ordinary Course of Nature betweene 80 and 90. both men and woomen are verry tall and large limbd withall; there are abundance of Broken Rocks that lyes of these Ilands which verry often ships are fast away upon and the people of the Iland are verry Bold and ventersome in order to helpe ships in distress. they will venture out in there Yauts when you'd think itt where hard for an ordinary ship to Carry her Cources. wee stand three Dayes att this Iland. Cabbages and onions wee gott good store to help of with our salt provisions and wee suplyed our selves with fowles. the Capt bought a great quantity of salt which he made a good hand off att Mary land selling itt for above 8 times what it Cost. [2] the Governer att that time¹ had nott so much as one Drop of Wine Brandy or strong Beere to make our Capt Drinke butt onely a little sort of table Beere which they Brew themselves of from Pottatoes. butt before wee left 'em the Capt made a Pressent to the Governer of 3 dozen Clarrett 3 doz S^r John Parsons stout Beere² 2 Gall. Brandy 1 doz; Caunary and a Couple of Cheshire Cheeses.

3 dayes affter wee left the Iland haveing fine weather wee saw a grent many Daulphins a Beautifull ffish to see too nott as our Painters make 'em upon signes Crooked butt a Clever strait fish sharp att the nose and comeing Cleane and taper of att the tayle. after you have taken that fish before itt Dyes itt Chainges to all Collours in the Rainn bow. itt is also a verry good fish to eat. wee tooke severall in so much that our ships Company was tired with 'em. wee endeavourd to keepe some to have Carried in to Mariland with us butt could nott. wee salted 'em and Pickled and soused 'em butt no way would doe above 3 dayes. wee were allways forced to fling 'em away they then being strong and nott fitt to eatt, wee att last came in sight of Great part of our scatter'd ffeete and with a fair and easy Gales made shift to weather the the [sic] Capes of Virginia by the 22d Dec^r. wee sailed up the Bay which I beleive is one of the finest in the world for itt's bigness itt, being ffree from Rocks and watter enough att all times to Receive the biggest ships that sailes to those parts. itt has also abundance of Navigable Rivers which empties themselves into itt and well stocked with good store of severall sorts of ffish which are of great use to the inhabitants in there families.

wee were a weeke a sailing up the Bay to a River Call[ed] severn where the Governer resides who att this time is Coll seemer³ a verry honest worthy Gentleman and well belov'd of the Contrey People who seeme to be mightily sattisfied both as to his pson and Conduct. [3] they are Govern'd by him and also have a Councell from whence they make all there by Laws of there owne which are Printed att Large. the

¹ Benjamin Bennett, governor 1701-1713.

² Sir John Parsons was the great brewer of his time, M. P. 1685-1717, knighted 1687, lord mayor of London 1703.

³ John Seymour, governor of Maryland 1704-1709.

Cuntrey of Maryland is a Noble fine Cuntrey fitt for any Manner of Buisness that Concernes the life of man provided they had People that would take that paines that such a Cuntrey is worthy off itt being Niether too hott in the Summer nor too Cold in the Winter. itt abounds in abundance of all sorts of Timbers either fitt for houses or shipping with a Bundance of fire wood. there are Good Oakes, Ash, Elm, hickery, Poplar, Beech, fir, Ceader, Locust, etc. as besides abundance of fruite of all sorts as aple Peare Cherry qunces in great quantity and innumerable Quantities [of] Peaches to that degree that they knock downe Bushells att a time for there hogs, besides what vast quantities they still and make a verry good spirritt off nott much inferior to Brandy and they also distill a great quantity of Brandy from sider which they make great quantitys off they haveing for the most Part very large orchards. and yett att some Certain times of the Yeare if You would give five Pounds You Cannott gett a Pint of Brandy unless itt be upon an extraordinary ocasion and that from some Merchantt or exterordinary Cockarouse¹ ffor they are so Generous one to another that as long as one has itt the other never wants itt as long as he has any; for if they know a Man has a Gallon of Brandy by him they will goe halfe a dozen honest ffellows to pay him a vissitt and never leave him tell all be out tho the [*sic*] goe tenn Miles an end which is no more to them then if itt were butt to the next Tavern here. there old feilds and woods abound in straw berries and huckle berries. there are abundance of Chesenutts which att the ffall of the Leaffe fall ffrom the trees that the Hogs flatten themselves with 'em. I have fformely seen Hogs about Oct^r. and Nov^r. come out of the woods so flatt that they could Scarcely wallow. you would have thought they had bin kept up eight or tenn weekes att Pease or Beanes they have bin so fatt and with nothing butt the mast of the woods; butt now indeed itt is nott so for the Cuntrey is More Populous, and there are a great many Hundred Plantations more Cleared so that the timber is Cutt downe that used to Beare that mast, [4] and those plantations that Lye farther up in the Woods are still the same for att the fall of the Leaffe they have fatt Beefe and fatt Porke Comes home to their Doores without giving 'em any Corne when at the same time the people that live upon the River sides and the plantations being thick together they are forced to give there Hogs a great Deall of Corne to flatt 'em.

there is abundance of Venison att the time of the Yeare ffree for any one to kill. I have seene Bucks as fatt in July there as I have here; indeed in the winter they are meere Carron for then the indians Come Downe a mong the English and hunt for 'em; they will kill you seven Bucks or does for a match Coat; that is a sort of stuff like a Blankett Dyed Red or Bleu which they Rap about em, goeing for the most Part Naked, only tying a peice of a Clout or a ffox skin just before their Privities; they are extraordinary good Marks men and will kill You

¹ Indian word, meaning a person of consequence.

more game then any of our English cann; they acknolledge a Dèity butt worship Sunn Moone and stars; they have no Reguard as to Dayes they know no sabbath; they Sacerafize once a year to the Devill; I was once out in the woods with my Gun thinking to shoote something and I hapned to espye an Indian with his Gun Cockt and just goeing to fire att a Couple of Deare; when on a suddan the Deare itther saw him or smelt him and so Ran away as hard as they could; the Indian imediately tooke a little tomnahauke; a sort of lathing hamer that will cutt att one side like a hatchett; and Cutt the Barke about a foot square from a Poppular tree; and upon the tree where the Barke was he Drew the Picture of a Squirell and knelt Downe and worshipt itt; and as soone as done he tooke his Gun and away he went Cleare Contrary to which way the Deare tooke; and in less then halfe a quarter of an hower I heard him shoote; I made that away out of Curosity; to se if he had kil'd any thing; and when I came I found he had killed a Deare; and was goeing to skin itt. I asked him whether he thought itt to be the same Deare and he told me he was sure itt was and would have the ffellow to Morrow. he had bin affter them already two Dayes before butt he beleived they allways winded him. I asked him if he thought there was any thing in the worshipping that Picture he made (that was the occasion of his killing the Deare; he told me) he did beleive there was butt as for any Reasons he could give me none; butt it was there way; I Parted from him and in goeing home I mett with a Gang of wild Turckies and shott two of 'em butt could nott carry them both home: I hung up one upon a small sapplin Makeing remarks upon the place that I might the Better send for itt; and when I gott home I sent a Negro for itt. he went and tooke another Negro along with him and a Gun, besides that Gun he had of me; because I told him where about I mett with the Turkies. they never came home all night which made me think he could nott find the turkey I sent him for, butt he readily found itt butt could nott so soone find out the gang, for they traveld all Night affter the Gang but could nott find em; they guest themselves about 5 miles from home when Day began to Break; and was for comeing home butt att last espied some Turkies Pearchd upon some high trees in a swamp; they both shot and killed three, and came home about an hower after Sun rise and with that turkie I left in the woods; these wild Turkies in that Cuntrey are of a varst wait some weying 40 some 50 and some say sixty Pounds wheigh; I have killed a turkie my selfe that has wheyed 43 Pounds out of the ffathers and his Gutts out; I durst nott venture to tell You the Weight that I have heard some Turkies have wheyed by Credible Gentlemen which I att the same time doe beleive may be true; butt I was once at one Major Greenberries¹ in severn River when an Indian brought in a wild Turkie to him which I thought was the biggest that ever I saw, the major bought itt of the indian for a Pint of Rum

¹Major Charles Greenberry of "White Hall" in Ann Arundell County, a prominent member of the Lower House of Assembly.

and six charges of Powder and shott. [6] I desired it might be wheyed which was done and itt wheyed verry neere 49 Pounds. he told me if I would stay all night wee should have itt for supper. I did and there hapned to come in more company. wee were Mighty merry and never eat Part of any turkie that ever Pleased me Better and in Discourceing over this Turkie there was a Planter there that told me he mett with a gang of Turkies in the Woods about a twelvemonth before and there was one that was so big and fatt that could nott fly. he shott and Killd a Couple of 'em and the rest all flew away butt them that he killed and that that was so fatt it could nott fly 20 yards together he followed and att last overcame itt and tooke it alive and presented itt to Major Greenbury. he cutt the wings and putt itt in the yard amongst his tame Turkies butt it Droopt and would not Keepe company with the tame Turkeyes so after keeping itt alone a fortnight they Kild itt and itt wheyed 63 pounds and did beleive itt had waisted itt selfe verry much after itt was taken. I have seene mighty gangs of these Turkies in the woods as I have bin Rideing and there is varst numbers of 'em kild every yeare. they are extraordinary Victualle butt indeed the hinder Parts are verry Course and so they are of tame Turkies for I think the Leg of a tame Turkie is as Course as a Peice of Neck Beefe tho the Turkie be never so fatt. I have seene some when they have walked above 4 foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ high. some times there Eggs have bin found in the woods and brought home and hatcht under other Turkies that have satt att the same time and also brought to perfection butt when they come to grow up would nott keep company with the other tame Turkies butt wander about by themselves nor never be so brisk as the Plantation Turkies are. I heard of a Planter that took Notice of a Gang of Turkies that used to come into his Corne feild every Morning for he had some Corne in a Tobacco house and they used to pick up the Corne that was Scatter'd about the Tobacco house. so he takeing notice of their frequent comeing every morning he resolved to entrap 'em. [7] so one evening goes into his Corne feild and Scatters a little Corne all allong the path way up to the tobacco house and allso into the house and in the Middle of the house leaves a good heap and leaves open the Doore and goes and lyes in the tobacco house him selfe and makes fast a string to the Doore so that he Could pull it two when he pleas'd. in the Morning before sunn Rise he began to heare his wellcom Guests which att last came Running one before the other Picking up the Corne as the[y] found upon the Ground till att last comeing to the Tobacco house Doore they were a little shy att first of entring butt att last the Master of the Gang ventures by little and little tell they came all Inn and gott to the Great heap which was laid on purpose for 'em to feast on without Cerrimony, when on a suddan the Major Domo pulls too the Doore and secures his new Guests. Downe he comes and apeares amongst em. butt they being altogether straingers to such sort of attendance would fain have made their Exitt butt truly the Landlord

of the house told 'em there was a Reckoning to pay and that he must be satisfied before they went so fastned the Doore and went out to call some assistance which was the rest of his family. so they held a Consultation what to doe whether they should lett any goe upon there parroll or nott or whether they had best secure 'em all att once. itt was Carried against 'em for itt was thought they would nott Keep their parroll to returne in any limitted time and Considering they were Turks itt was thought most proper they should all fall by the sword which accordingly they Did to the Number of 32 and where affter Dispers'd among the Christians of the Neighborhood.

[8] I have Caught Patrigges so verry often my selfe in Tobacco houses by shutting the Doore after I have found they have bin in the house butt nott with designe butt by accident. I have taken 16 or 18 att a time for there are abundance of 'em in Maryland as also wild Feasants a great many. butt for wild Gweese and wild Ducks I have somtimes seene some Creekes Black with 'em. the wild Ducks and Geese are very fatt all the winter. in the Sumer there is none to be seene. there are abundance of ffoxes which live upon Poultry they gett out of the Plantations and also Roccoons a Creature much like too a Fox butt nott that Collour itt being of a Dark grey Collour butt what they Feed on I cannott tell for the[y] seldom harbour about Plantations. there is also a Beast called a Possum. itt is about the bigness of a ffox butt nott so subtle. itt is of a grey collour and has a false Belly so that if they are persued they take in there Young ones and away they carry 'em either up trees or into some safe place or other.

I have seene 40 or 50 Woolfes together. every body knows they will nott stick att any thing to suport there Ravenours appetites. if by Chance an ox or a Cow should fall sick away from home and should hapen into the way of these unsatisfied Devills they never ask who he belongs too nor where he lives butt immediately fall to tareing his cloaths and never leave him till they can see any Part of his flesh hang together which if they cannott compase over Night they make a shift to doe the next morning by makeing an agreement to have there Breakfast out of him leavcing onely the Boanes to lett the Marster see hee is nott run away. there are abundance of wild swans. they say they are verry good meate butt I never did eate any in my life. the Hare in that Cuntrey is verry small being nott bigger then our Comon Rabbitts neither can they run a quarter so farr for if you chance to see a hare in the woods to be sure he takes to a hollow tree and then you may be sure to have him by smoakeing him Downe which I have Done many.

[9] There are also abundance of Squirrells of severall sorts as the great ffox Squirrell which are rare good meat. I have eaten part of many a one and had rather eat 'em then Rabbitt. they are admirable food with a Bitt of Bacon Boyld. they make fine Broth; there is a smaller sort which is about the bigness of a Rabbitt when about 3 dayes old which is Called a fflying squirrell. itt is of a grey collour with a

short thick head and when itt flyes itt extends all itt's feete which spreads a sort of thin skin which holds the wind butt cannott fly far. They are mighty pretty Petts. I have knowne 'em brought to England verrey often to make pressents off; there is also another sort of squirrell Comonly Called a Ground Squirrell which is much less then either nott being much bigger then a Mouse of a Redish collour striped with black all along the sides and Back with a pretty tayle that Covers itt all over when itt sitts upon itt's hinder parts. these are nott verrey scarce but are verrey hard to be ketch'd. these are also brought as rarities to England, with a sort of Birds Called red Birds nott so much to be admired for there fine singing as for there fine Collour, as also a Bird Called a Mocking Bird which will imitate any Bird itt heares in woods. 'I have much admired my selfe this bird for I have satt an hower or two together to heare how Dexterously itt will Mock the rest of the Birds. itt is about the bigness of our threshes of an ash Collour'd. there is another sort of a Bird which I think a great rarity which is called the Huming Bird which is nott a quarter so big as our renn. I have seene a large Bee verrey neere as big. itt is of severall sorts of Collours and the swiftest in flight of any in the world. itt feeds upon the Blossom of trees as Bees doe the Blossoms of fflowers. the Governors Lady of Virginia had one presented to her butt nott telling what to feed itt with itt Dyed butt they keep the Carcase hung up in the house which is worth any ones seing that is Curious. [10] I heard she should say shee would have given a hundred guinies itt could have bin kept alive.

the Indians of that Cuntrey are very Lusty Proper men as You shall see haveing fine strait Limbs off a Tawney Complection using Beares Greese to anoint themselves and so lett itt Dry in in the sun. there haire is as black as jett butt they Notch itt and Cutt itt into severall formes and shapes as Best likes 'em being verrey antick as to what formes and shapes they Cutt itt in some leaveing Nothing butt a Lock behind some Leaving 2 Locks one of each side some one onely just upon their forehead sometimes one upon the Crowne of there heads. they Paint there Bodies all over with some sort of Pictures or other and also there faces. the woomen are also painted like the men have verrey long Black haire downe to their hams. they Carry there Children att there Backs Like our Gipsies butt the men Carrie the Gun and the Tomahauke and they take care to build up their Cabbins which they always doe in a swamp or a Branch neare to a Little run of watter. they Cutt downe halfe a dozen forked Poles and sett 'em up anend then they Cutt Downe some small Poles for Rafteres and so Covering itt with Barke they make there fire in the Midle of the Cabbin and so lye Round itt upon Matts or Beare skins which they often kill and eate they being exterordinary food. they Live Much upon oysters getting vast quantities of 'em and so Roast 'em in a fier as also fish which they are great artists att Catching and sometimes they shoote 'em with Bow and arrows which they learne their Children to doe before

they Learn them in the use of the Gun. [11] the woomen they Plant the Corne and watter mellous and gett itt ready while the men Goe abroad in the woods Hunting affter other Game and so bring itt home for them to Dress and if they are so happy as to be masters of a Bottle Rum they Regaile and are as Merry as tho' they had all the Varieties that urope Could afford 'em. there are butt a few of 'em left now to what formerly they were, for they are gon more Norward amongst the Cannady Indians, butt those that are left are very servisable to the English coming downe amongst 'em in the winter and hunting for 'em and Live amonge them. Sometimes they kill Beares as I mençoned which are very good food. I was att one Esq^r. Bennetts who Lives att the mouth of Wey River upon the eastern shoare and some people had killed a Beare there which was verry fatt. itt was just affter Christmas. they Drest itt severall sorts of ways. some was Roasted some Boyled some Broyled like Griskins and they were so eager in the eating of itt that I thought they would have tore itt off the spitt before itt was halfe enough [sic] butt att last I ate some my selfe off that that was roasted and doe assure you itt was exterordinary victuals. I thought itt as good as Roast Beeffe itt being verry juicy and harty food full of Gravey; the fatt of 'em is verry good in old strains or aches. I once eate part of a Young Cub butt I think it eates more flashy then the old ones that are fatt. they fead upon nothing butt what the woods affoord. they eat no manner of Carron or any thing butt Grass or Cheesenutts or acorns or the like. [12] I was att the killing of one once att one Major Courseyes' a servant Came into the house and told the Major that there was a Beare treed about a mile off. the Major asked him if he thought itt would stay while they came. the fellow told him yes he was sure itt would for he had puld off his Coat and left itt att the roote of the tree with a Dog that he had charged nott to stir. so wee tooke Guns and gott three Mastie Dogs, by the way, and when wee came wee saw the Beare att the top of a great Oake upon one of the uper most limbs. wee all charged our guns with a Brace of Balls, and the first that fired shott him thro the Body which made him Roare and groane sadly. the second that shott hitt him some where about the shoulders which vexed him more than the former which made him fall from some of the top limbs into the midle of the tree and had much adoe to keepe there he was so weeke with the loss of Blood. att last a third shott and hitt him in the head which brought him Downe from limb to limb and so att last to the ground where he had liked to have spoyled all our Dogs afterwards, if in Case a Gentleman that was there had not tooke the mussle of his Gun and putt itt in his mouth and so shott him thro: the head. they afterwards Carried him home in tryumph and made mighty rejoycing att the ffeastivall they made of him which was p'formed affter the same manner off the former by Boyleng Roasting and Broyling, for every boddy that heares of itt in the neighbour hood comes to take part

¹ Major William Coursey, a member of the governor's council.

of itt as a novellty and to be sure there is either a good Bowle of Punch or else a great deale of good sider Drank att the eateing of this new sort of Venison.

[13] There are abundance of fish in all those Rivers as Pearch of severall sorts. the white Bellied Pearch, the Red Bellied Pearch the Black Pearch and the Yellow Bellied Pearch; there is a sort of fish Much like to our Mulletts here in England which they there Call a Rock fish Much about the length of a Large Mackerell. itt is a verry firm fish and butt few Bones onely the great Boane downe the Back like a Mackerell. there is also the Catt fish which I beleived is so called from itt's short thick Chubbed head like a Catt with also whiscars on each side of itt's mouth. itt is a good fish butt eates much like an eele and found most an end in Muddy watter. there is also the fish Called a Drum. itt is a verry large fish about the bigness of a Cod with verry large scales about the Breadth of a shilling. they are an admirable fish. the inhabitance make much account of 'em indeavering to ketch as many as they can in a season salting 'em up to eat att other times; there is a fish there that they Call a sheeps head which is a noble fish beyond any I yett have named. they are nott verry Plenty onely to be Caught in the Months of June, and July, and sometimes in august. I had rather eat itt then any fish what so ever nott excepting any of our uropean fish. there are also a fish called a stingwray much like a thorne Back and also abundance of Eeles. in the month of Aprill there are great quantities of Herrings comes up to the heads of the Rivers into the fresses to spawn. the inhabitants gett great numbers of 'em which are a mighty help to great Families. there are also abundance of shads in the month of May. they come also to spawn and to goe away again like the herrings; sometimes there are large sturgeon taken there butt no body admires 'em so that they are nott much sett by.

[14] The Corne of that Cuntrey Comonly Called Indian Corne or maize which grows in great Eares as thick as ones wriste and 7 or 8 inches in length with severall rowes of large grains round itt as big allmost as horse beanes grows upon high stalks 7 or 8 foot high joynted like a large banboo Cane with large Broad long leaves like flags groweing out of each joynt and a high tassell att the top beareing four five or six eares a peice of this same Corne itt being I beleive the greatest increase of any grain in the world there comeing five or six hundred from one grain. itt is a pleasant sight to see a feild of this growing before itt become to high itt being planted att an exact distance one from another in rowes aboutt six foott distance one way and about 5 foott distance the other way makes a mighty pretty show when itt is nott much above two foot high from the ground. itt is the cheifest Diett they have in the Cuntrey espeshally where there are great ffamilies of Negroos for they Beat itt in a Mortar and gett the husks from itt and then Boyle itt with a Peice of Beefe or salted Porke with some Kidney Beanes which is much like to Pork and Pease att sea butt they Call it

hommony. itt is verry harty and what the servants make there Constant food on. there is no want in any Family where there is plenty of that which is all the Cuntrey over, nott butt that they have good Beefe and Bacon sometimes Mutton and abundance of Greenes as Cabbages, Parsnips, Turnips, Carrots, Pottatoes Simnells squashes and watter mellons and also abundance of other things too tedious to be here incerted; butt the cheifest Comodity which is so [15] much Looked after is Tobacco which imployes all hands in every Family. for with that they by there slaves and white servants as also there Cloaths and all there liquors as Wine, Brandy, Rum, stout English Beere, etc: and also Cattle horses sheep, and they likewise buy there Land with itt. there is more Paines taken to raise itt then any one thing in the world again, itt is a mighty fatigue to the sailors to fetch itt from Plantations to Carry itt aboard there ships some times being forced to rowle itt by land four or five mile, nay some times I have knowne 'em Rowle itt seven miles an end befor the could bring itt to there Boates and then p'haps they have forty or fifty Miles to Cary itt to there ships.

there are abundance of snakes of severall sorts as the Black snake which is a long snake about 6 or 7 foot long and Black the red Bellied snake, the viper Corne Snakes watter snakes and the Rattle snake which is a verry fine snake to looke upon provided he had no venom butt itt is Death to be bitt with one of them without p'sent help. they are a very large snake with a fine skin of severall Collours. I have heard of 'em have bin 10 or 12 foot Long butt I never saw one above 5 or six foot. I have Killed a great many my selfe butt never one above five foot Long. There was one Mr. Sweatman that Kept an ordinary in wey River upon the eastern shore and he killed a small Rattle snake and a fancy tooke him to skin itt and after had itt Boyled and putt Into a Plate like an Eele with some Butter and Parsly Melted over itt and so sett by. [16] itt hapned that that evening there came a Receiver of one Coll Loyds to the house to stay there all Night. he asked what Victuall they had in the house for he was very hungry nott eateing any thing that Day. Sweatnam makeing answer they had nothing att all ready, butt att last sayes I have a rare cold eele if you like that; says the Receiver with all my harte there's nothing better. itt was brought forth and a cleane Napking laid. itt look'd Charmingly and espeshally to one that was sharp sett. itt Cooked verry white and the Butter and Parsly over itt made itt inviteing. the p'son fell too and eate hartily and made a good supper butt after super they had a boule of Pūch and smoaked two or three pipes of Tobhacco and so went to Bed. in the morning he gott up for he was to receive some Tobacco about 3 or 4 Miles from thence butt promised to Come and dine there att Noone which accordingly he did and after Dinner he asked him how his super agreed with him. he told him verry well and that he never supped better in his Life he thanked God for itt was what he lovd and comeing so unawares he liked itt the Better. the man of the house asked him if he knew what itt was he had

eate he told him he thought itt was an eele; swettنام swore no itt was a Rattle snake and to Confirme itt cal'd in his maid that Dressed itt who declaireing the truth of the matter that itt was so, putt him to a surprize. he immediately called for his horse and went home and tooke his Bed upon itt and had a verry severe fitt of sickness so that he lost all his haire. [17] affter he gott well he sued this swettنام and Recover'd twenty thousand wheight of Tobacco from him for treateing him with an un-comon supper. Now whether or no, in any ones oppinion, this was the affects of the supper or whether itt was the affects of a strong imagination itt being allmost 24 howers affter he had eat itt before he knew itt.

There is a sort of a Plum which grows there about the bigness of a Medler with 4 or five stones in itt. itt is Ripe about Sept^r. or Oct^r. itt is a Pleasant fruite to eatt if thorow Ripe. if not itt seemes to draw Your Mouth up to Your eare for a Considerable time.

wee gott our ship Loaded about the beginning of June and then weighed Ancor and so sailed downe the Bay in order to joyne the Grand fleet which consisted of about a hundred and odd Saile. butt before wee gott Downe the Bay wee heard that they had bin sail'd four or five dayes before so that wee could nott tell well what to doe whether wee had best follow 'em or stay for more Company there being three or four ships that was nott come downe the bay, and while wee were consulting about the Matter wee saw two under saile makeing the best of there way downe. wee came to an Ancor in the Mouth of the Bay untill that they should come as low as wee which when they did they Cast ancor like wise. the one was a large ship of about eight hundred hh^{ds}. and Carried about 14 Guns and had 22 sea Men on Board besides some Passingers butt the other was a Pink of about 4 hundred hh^{ds}. butt no Guns she belonging to the Quakers imploy and they never Carry Guns and had about 12 men. [18] wee hoisted out our Boat and went aboard that ship that had 14 Guns to Consult with the Master of her what he intended to doe and also the Master of the Pink came aboard him likewise and he told us there was two ships more to come downe one a ship of good force and the other a verry small one nott Carrying above one hund^d hh^{ds}. butt the other Carrying seven hund^d and fivety hhds. and 16 Guns and about 20 Men besides Passingers and then when they came wee should be five sail'd with our ship which Carried six Guns and 5 hundred hh^{ds}. and 16 men so that when wee were come all together wee did designe to p'sue our Voyage and make the Best of our way for England. the Next Day the other two ships came downe the Bay and joyn'd us and then by consent wee weighed Ancor and sail'd downe to a place Called Linn haven Bay just within the Capes mouth of Virginia and so came to an ancor the wind nott being fair for our putting out to sea; and holding in the same Corner Kept us in for above a weeke all which time I was a shore with my Gun and also went a fishing in which Pastime I had good success Killing seventeene Drums and five sheeps head two Large sorts of fish which I sent on Board att three times. I took p'ticular

Notice as I walked upon the strand by the sea side of some Cockle shells [19] for their largeness theing [they] being as Big as our scollop shells which wee dress oysters in over the fire in Taverus and the Oysters there are as large as a Midling horses hoofe. I gave a Man a shilling to gett me some tho: itt was att that time of the Yeare in the month of June when wee doe not eat 'em here in England butt they were extraordinary good and firme onely a little of the ffreshest. wee Pickled up some of 'em which was a great use to us in making of fish sauce when wee had occasion which wee often had; the people of that place say those large Cockles are extraordinary good and make verry good Broth when stewed butt the fish itt selfe is verry tough. att last the wind pressented and wee sett saile and came away with a fresh gale att South east and so Continued for about a fortnight when wee saw to windward of us a Couple of Large ships as wee thought and standing right upon us so that wee concluded that they were two french privateers and that wee should be all taken unless itt was the Pink that had no Guns for shee could saile admirable well and would make the best of her Way while they where Buisy in taking of us, for wee was Resol'd nott to be taken, by two small privateers tho att the same time one Privateere of 14 or 16 Guns would have taken us all; butt at last our feares was soone over for they Proved to be two sloopes one off Virginia and the other of Penselvania Both from jamaca, Loaden with Rum and sugar and Bore downe upon us to know if the Virginia fleete was sail'd; for they thought to have come to a good Markett if wee had not bin sail'd. so affter haveing sattisfied 'em they stood on their Course and wee ours, butt the Next Day about Noone wee made something butt could not tell what itt was butt at last beareing downe to itt wee found itt to Bee a sloop in Distress. shee was come from Fiall¹ butt was of New England Called the providence of Boston and Bound for Mariland Loaden with wine, shee had bin out Nine weekes from Fyall, and had lost her Mast and Boome and all her sailes. shee had two men wash't over Board and her Binickle and lost her Compass about a Month before in a Mighty storme. [21] the one of the men that was washed over was theire Carpenter and so they lay Rowling with out either Mast or sailes and had done so for a month onely save a Bitt of a saile about the bigness of a wherrys saile. they had never a bitt of Bread nor no meat of any sort in nine Dayes before and had only lived upon some walnuts which they had a good quanty off and a little wine and watter for they durst nott drink wine by itt selfe for feare itt should over Come 'em; those that was left was two Men and a Boy and did nott know what day of the weeke itt was for wee hoisted out our Boat and I went a Board of her and the poore soules that was aboard look't like death. they were so weake they could nott man the side; and were verry glad when wee Boarded 'em for itt had bin joyfull to them if wee had bin french Privateeres so long as they were saved from being

¹ Fayal in the Azores.

Rac't for they must Certainly have Perished in the sea if wee had nott Mett with 'em and besides in two or three Days they must Certainly have starved for want of food for they had nott one Crome of any sort lefft save onely some walnuts for they had butt five weekes Provisions when they left Fyall; [22] they asked us how far wee thought they Might be off the Capes of Virginia and Wee told em Wee thought itt Might be about three hundred leagues. I came aboard of our owne ship and gave the Capt this Deploable accom^t of 'em which moved him into Compassion towards them. he went aboard him selfe then to see how things was and found em no Better then I told him; he ordered our Carpenter to take a small Boome that wee had and to fix em up a Mast and took a spare Missen Topmast and made 'em a Boome and while that was doing the Capt order'd 'em a Compas and halfe a dozen Pound of Candles and a sack and a halfe of Bread a Barrell of Oat Meale halfe a firking of Butter or Chesher Cheese and twenty Peices of Beeffe and 12 Peices of Porke and a sett of slooppe sailes which wee verry luckily happened to have aboard which belong'd to one of our sloopes in Mariland; and was Carrying them to England to have em alter'd which verry luckily fell out to be off servis to these poore People in distress which they gave the Capt: Bills for all that they had of him upon there owners; wee gott a pipe of Fiall wine and some wallnuts from 'em wish'd 'em a good Voyage and so sent em goeing nott a little overjoyed for meeteing so good Freinds espeshally att such a time when that they had given themselves over either to be starved or drowned which must Certainly have bin in a verry little time if wee or some other ship had nott mett with 'em.

[23] The wind then being faire and after Parting with the slooppe wee Made all the saile wee could while [until] such time as wee thought wee were neare the English Coast. in the meantime wee saw severall ships butt did nott care to speake with 'em for feare least they should nott be Friends. att last all the Commanders mett aboard of the great ship to consult what they had best doe whether they should make directly for the Chops of the Channell or whether they should saile North about by Ireland and Scotland and att last itt was Concluded that wee should goe north aboutt by reason they did beleive that a great many French privateers might be in the Channell picking upp the Scatterers of the Virginia Fleete. wee were all Bound for London butt one which was the least Ship amongst us which Carried butt a hundred hh^{ds}. he being bound for Bristoll thought he was run his Length and so left us and made in for the shore butt wee heard afterwards he was taken the next Day by a French pryvateere just under the Land goeing up for Bristoll. wee stood away for the Norward and att last Came into the I'les of Orkneys. there are severall of 'em butt there is butt two of any consequence. wee came to an Ancor In the Great Ilands in a Place Called Cate-ness.¹ [24] There is twelve Miles from thence a verry good Towne well

¹ Caithness and the Orkneys are apparently confused.

inhabbited.¹ the people are all Scotch and a verry good sort of People they are speaking Much better there then the doe att Barwick or new-castle. there is abundce of good fish to be had there for Dureing six weekes stay that wee made there wee had plenty of all sorts as Large Codlings whiteings Large soules Large flounders Turbutt haddock and the finest Ling that ever I saw in my Life. I have seene Ling there 6 foott Long and as yellow as gold; and good Lobsters and Crabs as big as two penny Loafe. wee could buy for 6 pence or seven pence as much of these sort of fish as would well sattisfie twenty men. I have for a Peice of Tobacco which might whey about a quarter of a Pound had 4 pair of soules 8 Codling a dozen of white and four thorne backs. I once bought for eight pence and a peice of Tobacco a verry large Turbutt 4 paire soules 4 Large Codlins and a dozen of fine flounders and might have had what Thorne backs I had had a Mind for if I would have taken 'em butt thinking I had enough for Money lett 'em alone.

[25] wee Bought excellent French Brandy for twelve Pence a quart there Quarts being much Larger then ours² and wee bought also extraordinary good French Clarrett Neat from the Grape for Nine Pence the Quart, the Measure as I told you accordingly, which made itt seeme to us mighty Cheepe Considering the goodness which wee often Laid our harts in soake in; this Iland is very Barren mountanous and Rockey Beareing no Manner of Trees nor fruite. itt Beares no Corne butt a Little poore Barly and when that was fitt to Cutt itt was nott a foot from the ground. After itt was thrasht the straw Could nott be above 6 or 7 inches Long; there is not so much as a gooseberry Bush Growes there nor a sprig of Rosemary will nott grow. itt beares a great deale of Cattle. there Cows and steeres have no hornes. the Beefe is verry good but verry small. I bought a steere of six Yeares old for 12 shillings. the Mutton is verry small butt verry sweete. as for there Porke itt is verry Bad. itt eates fishy for they feed there hogs with fish. I eat a sort of a fflowle there which they call a Puffin a Perfect Lump of fatt butt eates verry fishy. I bought Pulletts for three halfpence a Peice and Chickens for a Penny a Peice and Geese for 3 pence and Ducks for three halfpence a sheepe for two shillings and six pence and a Lamb for eighteen pence. there is the worst Beere that ever I Drank worse then watter and yett there are some [26] Gentlemen that Live upon those Ilands that have four or five hundred Pounds a Year Rent and altho the Ilands are so very Barren Yett they have great flocks of sheepe and vast flocks of Geese; affter wee had made about six weekes stay wee sett saile for new-castle and arrived there affter three Dayes saile; wee saw upon the Coast as wee were sailing betweene Orknes and Newcastle foar or five hundred sail of Dutch Busses fishing for Herrings itt being then the season. att last wee sail'd from New Castle with a flecte of Laden Colliers under Convey of two small men of war and arived att Graves end the 2^d of Octr. that Day 12 month that wee sett saile from Plimouth.

¹ Kirkwall was then the only considerable town in the Orkneys.

² The Scottish quart was about three times as large as our imperial quart.

3. *Intercepted Letters of Virginian Tories, 1775*

THESE two letters from Tories at Portsmouth, Virginia, were found among the manuscripts in the Virginia State Library, "Executive Communications", by Mr. Waldo G. Leland. The first has lost its original wrapper and bears neither signature nor name of addressee, but is identified as having been written by John Johnson by an indorsement on the part of H. W. R. Curle, who was perhaps the interceptor. The second was apparently written by a canny Scottish merchant or factor, chiefly interested in the "main chance" but for that very reason not indifferent to the political events going on around him. The sequel of his strivings for profitable commerce, resulting in prosecution for violation of the non-importation agreement in January, 1776, after Norfolk had passed into the hands of the Americans, may be read in the report of a committee of the Virginia Convention, Force's *Archives*, fourth series, IV. 109, 126, 128. In date both of these letters fall in the interval between Lord Dunmore's minor success at Kemp's Landing and his more important defeat at the Great Bridge.

PORTSMOUTH Novemr. 16th 1775
being Thursday

Dear Sir

As Politicks are now uppermost in all men's minds I sit down to give you a sketch of affairs in this Colony, and of the Situation of Foreigners, particularly Britons residing here. Ever since the Convention broke up in August the greatest diligence has been used in raising Troops, and a considerable Number have been imbody'd at Williamsburg, some say Twelve or Fifteen Hundred, others more. They consist of Regulars and Minute Men. The footing on which the latter are rais'd, and are to act, I cannot explain to Your satisfaction, without having the Ordinance of Convention,¹ wch. indeed I have never seen. Part of this Body are destined for Norfolk, and there is certain intelligence, that, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Tenders employ'd to guard the Ferries on James River, about Seven Hundred Men are got across to Grays Creek, and probably are now on their march down. People at Norfolk and this place, are dreadfully alarm'd with the report that has long prevailed of their intentions of burning the Towne: certain it is many terrible Threats have been made, either because they are made to believe that a majority of the Inhabitants are Scotch, and of course Friends to Government, or from an apprehension that Norfolk will be made a Garrison, and consequently a Station for Troops and ships of War. To quiet People's minds the Committee of Safety have publish'd a Declaration of which I send you a copy; tho' I am far from thinking their integrity is call'd in question, yet this will not remove People's appre-

¹ Hening, IX. 9-35.

hensions; if the Colony Troops get possession of Norfolk, the Rifle Men will endeavour to annoy the Ships by taking their stand behind Houses, and firing at the officers or men who appear on the Decks, which may bring on the destruction of the Place, tho' not at this time intended by either Party. Almost all the Goods are pack't up, and moved or moving out of Town, with Household Furniture and everything that can possibly be spared, many are gone out to the Country with their Families, in short I believe on the approach of the Virga. Forces every one will go who has any Friends to receive them; Scotch Men who are single will probably go on board some of the Ships in the Government service. Notice was brought Lord Dunmore on Sunday Evening¹ that a Body of Men was assembled at the Great Bridge about 10 miles distant, up the Southern Branch; on Monday night he went against them with about 200 Soldiers and Marines, and a few volunteers from Norfolk, about day break on Tuesday He got to the Bridge, but found no Body there; from thence he proceeded to Kemp's² where 'tis said about 300 men were in Arms, these He dispers'd after a few discharges from the Troops. Tho' this happen'd so near us we have not yet got any certain account of it some say three of the Provincials are kill'd and one drown'd, others that only one is kill'd. Several are taken Prisoners, among them Colo. Joseph Hutchings of Norfolk.³ Since the dispersion of this Body Lord Dunmore has been employ'd as we're told in receiving submissions from such as are willing to return to their Duty and allegiance, and in making search for these who have been active in raising and carrying on this opposition to Government—For some time past He has declared that as soon as he certainly knew of the Colony Troops having cross'd James River in order to march down here, that he would issue his proclamation declaring them Enemies to the Government, of which herewith send you a copy.⁴ I am extremely sorry that he has promis'd freedom to their Slaves, as without serving his cause it may subject many of these poor Wretches to the Loss of Life, and most severe punishments. You may judge the Situation of Your Country Men at this Crisis, these settled here may be compell'd to take up arms, which is contrary to their inclination, their Interest, and future Views. those in the Country must rise to suppress any Insurrection amongst the Slaves, which is expressly mention'd in a Memorial or Petition presented to the Convention at Richmond last August. It would not surprise me to hear of some of them being made Prisoners, as Lord Dunmore has taken several who

¹ November 12.

² Kemp's Landing, now Kempsville, ten miles southeast of Norfolk. On the skirmish here, see Mrs. Maxwell's recollections in *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, III. 132-134.

³ Col. Joseph Hutchings was one of the chief men of Norfolk. See letter of Edmund Pendleton to Richard Henry Lee in Force's *Archives*, fourth series, IV. 202.

⁴ For Dunmore's proclamation from on board the *William*, November 7, 1775, see Niles, *Principles and Acts*, ed. 1822, p. 373, or Force's *Archives*, fourth series, VII. 1385.

were not in Arms, it will signify perhaps little that their conduct was different from that of our Countrymen, and that they openly busied themselves in exciting others to an opposition to Government, while we have avoided such measures in favour of it, Such Circumstances will I am afraid be overlook't. I heartily wish my apprehensions may be ill grounded. The Governor and the Troops are not yet return'd from Princess Anne, the weak resistance he met there will probably give him a mean opinion of the Forces from the upper parts of the Country who are certainly very different men, many of them possessed of considerable property, who serve to promote the cause, and not merely to earn a subsistence. Should he resolve to meet them, I among others shall be call'd to the Field. I am so circumstanced that all my private Debts are in reality Debts of honour, if I should fall God knows how they will be adjusted! to Your management I must commit this Task, I do not think it worth while to make a Will or would appoint you Executor.'

I unluckily left behind me at Page's some Papers without which I cannot settle my private affairs. I intended before this time [*sic*], but of late People have been obliged to apply to the Committees for permission to pass,¹ and here we have no Committee to whom to make application. Yet I cannot say this alone has prevented me from going up, tho' join'd to other disagreeable Circumstances it has had Weight. Some time ago Anthony Warwick, Mich. Wallace and I went down to Hampton and were detained by the Committee from Monday Evening till Friday morning when we made our escape while some of the Tenders were firing on the Town, cross'd Hampton Creek, and Mill Creek, walk'd round by the old Fort, and were taken on board the Tenders and brought to Portsmouth. We could not obtain a hearing from the Committee, nor was any Parole required of us, the last night of our stay we were confined to a room, and three Sentinels placed over us. We were taken into Custody in consequence of an Advertisement publish'd by the Committee of Safety requiring them to examine all suspected Persons, they rank'd us in that number, and suspected us of coming as Spies. I mention this affair to show you the Spirit of the times. During our confinement at Hampton a Number of men were station'd there for the defence of the place, on the day we came off, the Tenders were repuls'd owing chiefly to their want of amunition; and a Pilot Boat was taken, occasioned by the rashness of a Lieutenant who ran her close into John Jones's [*illegible*], from whence a constant fire was kept up [*rest of line torn off*] posted themselves in it. One man was kill'd another mortally wounded and seven taken Prisoners, who are all since released, excepting one detained for some misbehaviour. Many Falsities have been circulated concerning this ill judged attack.²

By a Vessel which arrived from New York about a fortnight ago the Governor and several of the Officers had intelligence of Montgomery,

¹ Orders of the Committee of Safety in Force, *Archives*, fourth series, III. 1190.

² See the account of it in Henry's *Patrick Henry*, I. 323, 324.

who during the Sickness of Schuyler, commanded the Army sent against St. John's, being totally defeated, having lost about a Thousand Men and several officers of rank, but this will never be generally known in this Country, and private Letters from New York say every human Artifice has been made use of to prevent its being made known. If true as I make little doubt and sincerely wish it, we will first see the account from England. I have troubled you with this long incorrect scrawl (which I have not time to copy) to give you some idea of our Situation, treated and dispised as the most worthless of mankind, for adhering to the Government, under which we were born, have lived, and till of late been happy. It is certainly a mistaken lenity to leave the Friends of the present Establishment at the mercy of those doing their utmost to overturn it, and [*line torn off*] hoped that next summer Great Britain will exert her utmost vigour to crush this ungrateful Rebellion, and send out an Army sufficient to disperse Washington's and a Fleet to convince the City of Philadelphia that it is not inaccessible. It at present rests secure that some floating Batteries they have built are capable of defending them, and it is said they are building a Sixty Gun Ship, and fitting out Privatiers. Should a British Fleet get up to Philadelphia I imagine there would be no occasion to proceed to extremeties, every thing would be given up to save it from destruction. I hope the Ministry will no longer be intimidated by the Clamours of the wretched Remnant of a disappointed Faction, from prosecuting the War with vigour and depriving America of supplies of Goods arms and amunition, of all which they have this summer smuggled considerable quantities, and it has not been in the power of the few Vessels station'd here to stop them. Unless a Packet is established from Britain directly to Virga, You must be very cautious what you write, the Congress has now erected a Post office and in all probability Letters from Britain will all be opened and any thing [*two lines torn off*] may always be mentioned. The 17th. This day Lord Dunmore and the Troops returned, there were five of the Princess Anne men kill'd at Kemps, two drown'd and fourteen Prisoners or some say fifteen. So many Falsities are daily circulated, that we can hardly credit anything that passes through a number of hands. That we may again see Peace and good Government firmly established, and be enabled to do Justice to all Mankind, is my most fervent wish.

I forgot to tell you that about 300 P. Anne Men have come in and sworn allegiance Yesterday and to day the Oaths have been administered to the people of Norfolk, our turn I imagine will be next

I am with great sincerity

Dear Sir

Your most obed. Servt.

[Indorsement]

John Johnson was the person confined in Hampton as above mentioned with Warwick and Wallace.

H. W. R. CURLE.

PORTSMOUTH NOV^r 20th, 1775.

Dear Jack:

I have yet at this date an Opportunity of writing you by the Christie Capt James Avery Which I am sorie for, I wish she had Sailed 10 days Ago As I expected, for I Apprehend Within this few days A great Many people has had there Eyes Opened And Will Write now by this Sloop for Goods.

the Governor went this day Week with a party of the Troops and some Volentiers from Norfolk to the Great Bridge landed them and marched to Kemps, where a Number of Shirt Men¹ from Princes Ann and some of Norfolk Co^r. had collected to the Number of 3 or 400 Men who drew themselves up, and determined to Wait the arrival of the Troops and give the Governor Battle. As soon as the Troops Appeared the Shirt Men began to fire as far as they could see them, and kept on fireing till the Troops got pretty near them but did no damage. the Troops Made One fire which made the Shirt Men all take to the Woods they killed Some Say 4 or 5 others 8 or 9 and took a Number of Prisoners amongst them Col^o Hutchings and Anth^o Lawson² who is now Confined on Board the Eilback. the Governor Imediately Issued his Proclamation (Copy of which I Inclosed Mr Sym) declaring all Rebels that did not Imediately repair to the Kings Standard, their Negroes and Servants free that was able and willing to bear arms. *Since that the whole countys of Norfolk and Princes Ann to a man has come in to the Standard which is now erected in Norfolk and taken the Oaths of Allegiance to his Majesty—a few Individuals excepted which the Governor would not allow in order to make some examples of some of the Leading Men.*

before Saturday Night I think Government will have such a party here as the Shirt Men dare not face, there was a great many volintees went with the Governor and his party to Kemps, the greatest part of which has had the Offer of Commissions, amongst the rest George Blair is appointed and has accepted a Captains Commission in one of the Companys which is to be rais'd Imediately. I hope we shall be allowed to remain in peace and quietness Now. John Brown who was one of the volintees upon the Strength of being protected has begun to Load his Sch^o with Staves for Jamaica, they bear a high price amongst all the West Indie Islands. I Should Send Pickets Sloop out Imediately, but I keep him to hold my goods in case of accident that I May have my property amply [*illegible*]. as soon as the Regt is completed which is now raising, I shall land the Whole of my goods and think them very Safe in my Stores again.

¹ Virginian minute-men, often dressed in hunting-shirts.

² Col. Anthony Lawson, J. P., was one of the richest and most prominent men of Princess Anne County. Proposals for his exchange and that of Col. Hutchings were made in vain by the Virginia Committee of Safety, May 3, 1776, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, VIII. 166; Lawson was released on parole in the ensuing November by Governor Tonyn of East Florida, after confinement at St. Augustine. The order for release is printed in Hanson's *Old Kent of Maryland*, p. 174.

let me beg of you to loose not a Moment, but be as Expeditious as possible and bring out as Many Goods in the Brig as She will hold. Now is the time to Strick a bold Strock depend upon it you will Never have such another to Make Money by dry Goods in this Country.

Oznabrigs and Canvas a large q^y [quantity of] Course Linens, Checks, Sheetings, handfs, Stockings, and every necessary article a large and full assortment of goods, Nails etc. bring as many as you can get credit for.

If Gibsons Sloop is at Glasgow, I would wish him Loaded also. If you wish bring 20 M^e Steg¹ I am certain they could be sold of Instantly and to Advantage, have them insur'd that in case of accident the creditors May be Safe.

As soon as Matters is a little Settled here, I expect to be a Considerable remitter. I have 1300 £ Steg from the Birth [?] will be due in a few Months and the like sum from Calderhead, besides 1000 £ owing me in Norfolk and which is owing me in the country. If we could have a Meeting and any Sort of payments I expect to Remit a large Sum. I am afraid McRenals lost he has never been heard of Since he Sailed from the W Ind the 30th Augt for Norfolk. the Agatha² is Never yet Arrived. I am afraid he will be a long time detained in Lebay [?].

Aga³ is perfectly Recoverd Since you left us I thank God And we are all in good health. Remember us all to My Mama and Sisters and all Friends I am Dear Jack

Your Affect Brother

ROBERT SHEDDEN

[Addressed:] To

Mr John Shedden Jnr
Glasgow

[Endorsed:] Robt Shedden

(intelligence and inimical)

No 5

Nov 20th 1775

4. *Letter of John Marshall to James Wilkinson, 1787*

For the following letter we are indebted to Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, LL.D., of Louisville, Kentucky. Colonel Durrett writes: "This letter was written to General James Wilkinson, at that time a resident of Kentucky, although his name does not appear in the address. His name and address were on the envelope, which has since been destroyed." The letter, as Colonel Durrett intimates,

¹ Twenty thousand pounds sterling.

² The sloop *Agatha*, Captain Wilson, was on her way from the West Indies. Upon her arrival she was seized for violation of the non-importation agreement. Force's *Archives*, fourth series, IV. 109, 126, 128.

³ *Agatha*, wife of Robert Shedden. Their marriage bond, dated August 30, 1768, is calendared in the *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, IV. 57.

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shows a kindly feeling between writer and recipient that Humphrey Marshall the historian, John Marshall's cousin, would hardly have been willing to admit. He also calls attention to the efforts which Colonel Thomas Marshall, father of John, made in 1791 toward securing Wilkinson's reappointment to the army of the United States. Colonel Marshall, however, it should be said, gives as a reason for this that Wilkinson was a dangerous man while not engaged, but that the danger might be removed by giving him employment. Colonel Durrett suggests that possibly John Marshall may have been moved by similar considerations in trying to obtain for him a passport out of the United States. The governor of Virginia in January, 1787, was Edmund Randolph.

RICHMOND, Jan. 5th, 1787

Dear Sir,

It is with a great deal of mortification I tell you that I have failed in obtaining the passport I applied for. On my mentioning the subject to the Governor he said he was acquainted with you and would with great pleasure do any thing which was proper to serve you. He took time to consider the subject and after several applications, told me to-day that to grant the passport as an official act was entirely improper because it could only extend to the limits of Virginia to which you had a right to go without his permit and that he could not write a private letter of recommendation to the Governor without having some acquaintance with him. On these reasons sir, my application in your favor was rejected. I am much chagrined at my disappointment.

I am much indebted to you for the clear and succinct account you have given me of the two expeditions against the Indians. I fear with you that so long as you remain connected with Virginia it will be absolutely impossible to act on any great occasion with reputation or success. Just information from such a distance will never be obtained by government without a solicitude about intelligence which seldom exists in a proper degree on the eve of a separation. You are considered as being certainly about to part with us and therefore less attention will be given to any regulations respecting your country than if the disunion was not expected.

All is gloom in the eastern states. Massachusetts is rent into two equal factions and an appeal I fear has by this time been made to the God of battles. Three of the leaders of the opponents to Government have been taken and imprisoned in Boston. The whole force of the party is collected for their relief. The last intelligence gives us reason to fear that before this time the attempt to relieve them has been made with the whole power of one party and opposed by the whole power of the other. But of this I suppose you receive better information than I can give you. We have contradictory accounts of the motives and views of the insurgents. We are sometimes informed that they are a British

faction supported secretly from Canada whose immediate object is to overthrow the present and restore the former government, at other times we are told that it is a mere contest for power between Bowdoin and Hancock and that the Hancock faction are aiming at the destruction of all public securities and the subversion of all public faith. Whatever may be the cause of these dissensions or however they may terminate, in their present operation they deeply affect the happiness and reputation of the United States. They will, however, I presume tend to people the western world if you can govern yourselves so wisely as to present a safe retreat to the weaker party. These violent, I fear bloody, dissensions in a state I had thought inferior in wisdom and virtue to no one in the union, added to the strong tendency which the politics of many eminent characters among ourselves have to promote private and public dishonesty cast a deep shade over that bright prospect which the revolution in America and the establishment of our free governments had opened to the votaries of liberty throughout the globe. I fear, and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity of man, that these have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself. I fear we may live to see another revolution.

I am dear sir, with high esteem and respect,

Your obed't serv't.

JOHN MARSHALL

5. *Gilman v. McClary: a New Hampshire Case of 1791*

PLUMER in his *Life of William Plumer* (pp. 170-172) refers to a New Hampshire case of 1791 in which an act of the legislature was declared unconstitutional but says: "Beyond a brief notice of it in my father's papers, I am not aware that any report of the case is to be found." A brief record of the decision in this case has been found among the records of the Superior Court of Judicature, for Rockingham County, at Exeter, N. H.

During the Revolution trials by the legislature were frequent in New Hampshire. This practice was continued after the adoption of the Constitution of 1784, and the General Assembly ("General Court") assumed for a time the position of a court of appeal. Legislative interference in judicial matters usually assumed the form of a special act "restoring the party to his law", i. e., granting him a new trial in the Superior Court.

In 1789 Nathaniel Gilman sued Elizabeth McClary for a certain sum of money alleged to be due to him. Upon agreement of the parties the matter was submitted to referees, who decided against Elizabeth McClary, and the Superior Court entered judgment against her. The following extracts from the House and Senate

journals of New Hampshire and the decision of the Superior Court give the further history of the case.

WALTER F. DODD.

Voted that M^r Warner, M^r Dole and M^r Gibson with such of the Honb^l Senate as they may join be a Committee to consider of the Petition of Elisabeth M^rClary and report thereon. (Journal of the House of Representatives, June 10, 1790. *N. H. State Papers*, XXII. 59.)

A Vote for a committee to join a committee of the Senate to consider of the petition of Elizabeth M^rClary, and report thereon. Was brought up, read and concurred: M^r Webster joined. (Senate Journal, June 11, 1790. *Ibid.*, 15.)

The Committee on the Petition of Elisabeth McClarey reported that the Petitioner be heard thereon before the General Court on some day in the next Session—On reading said report Motion was made to accept the Same on which motion the yeas and nays were called and are as follows viz. . . . 33 yeas—19 nays—so it was Accepted.

Whereupon *voted* that the Petitioner be heard thereon before the General Court on the Second Friday of the next Session and that in the mean time the Petitioner cause that Nathanael Gilman the Petitionee be served with a Copy of the Petition and order of Court thereon three weeks prior to the Sitting of said court that he may then appear and Shew cause why the prayer thereof may not be granted and that the Execution against the Petitioner be stayed until the decision of the General Court. (Journal of the House of Representatives, June 14, 1790. *Ibid.*, 67-68.)

A Vote to hear the petition of Elizabeth M^rClary on the second Friday of their next Session, and that she cause N. Gilman of Newmarket [to be served] with a Copy of the petition etc. etc. was brought up, read and concurred. (Senate Journal, June 16, 1790. *Ibid.*, 22.)

Upon hearing and considering the Petition of Elisabeth McClarey *voted* that the prayer thereof be granted and that the Petitioner have leave to bring in a Bill accordingly. (Journal of the House of Representatives, January 14, 1791. *Ibid.*, 156.)

A vote granting the prayer of the petⁿ of Elis^a McClary and giving her leave to bring in a bill accordingly was brot up read and concurred. (Senate Journal, January 14, 1791. *Ibid.*, 104.)

An Act to restore Elisabeth McClarey to her Law—was read a third time and passed to be Enacted. (Journal of the House of Representatives, January 21, 1791. *Ibid.*, 168.)

An Act to restore Elisabeth McClary to her law having been read a third time *voted* that the same be enacted. (Senate Journal, January 25, 1791. *Ibid.*, 113.)

Upon motion it was objected by the Counsel for the original plaintiff that the Act of the General Court by virtue of which this action was reentered could not entitle the original defendant to a trial by way of

appeal because if it reversed the judgment the court rendered on the report of referees it was repugnant to the constitution of this State and if it did not reverse the judgment the same might be pleaded in bar on the appeal Whereupon after a full hearing of the parties by their counsel learned in the law and fully deliberating upon the constitution of the State and nature and operation of the act, it appears to the Court that if the act virtually or really reverses the judgment of this Court it is repugnant to the bill of rights and constitution of this State and if the Act does not reverse the said judgment the Court cannot render another judgment in the same case upon appeal while the first judgment remains in full force It is therefore considered by the Court that the said Act is ineffectual and inadmissible and that the said action be dismissed. (Manuscript record, Superior Court for the County of Rockingham, September, 1791.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Studies of Roman Imperialism. By W. T. ARNOLD, M.A. Edited by EDWARD FIDDES, M.A. With Memoir of the Author by MRS. HUMPHRY WARD and C. E. MONTAGUE. (Manchester, England: The University Press. 1906. Pp. cxxiii, 281.)

THE historical sketches which this volume contains were intended to serve as chapters in a history of the early Roman Empire. Before the author's plan could be brought to completion he died, and these *Studies*, introduced by a memoir from the hand of Mrs. Humphry Ward, his sister, and of Mr. Montague, his colleague on the editorial staff of the *Manchester Guardian*, are now published without change. Few people were aware of the services which Arnold rendered to the public, and of his record as a journalist, for he held the opinion that "there is no limit to what a man can do who does not care who gains the credit for it". The important work which he did for the world in this unselfish way and his rare personal qualities are finely set forth in the sketch which his sister and his friend have drawn of his life.

The seven historical essays which Arnold left behind him deal with two general topics, the home government and the provinces. In the chapters of the first group constitutional and political questions are discussed; in the second the geography and conditions of life in the provinces are treated. This natural division of the material has not been properly recognized in the arrangement of the chapters; and the reviewer would advise the reader of the book to read chapter v., on "The Domestic Policy of Augustus," immediately after chapters i. and ii., which deal with "The Foundations of the Imperial Power" and with "The Senate."

These three studies are written in a clear, forceful style and give a well-proportioned account, which is sound in the main, of the institutions of the early empire. The author was apparently under the spell of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, and does not seem to have been aware, when the chapters were written, of subsequent discussions later than Mommsen's work which have led us to modify that writer's view at certain important points. The treatment of imperial finances (pp. 57-59) is especially open to criticism. Egypt did not form part of the emperor's *patrimonium*, and the reviewer cannot accept as true the statement (p. 58) that "the distinction between the two treasuries [*i. e.*, the *aerarium* and the *fiscus*] seems to have been little more than nominal." The Senate continued to have a real control over the *aerarium* under Au-

gustus (cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, pp. 13 et seqq.); and therefore Arnold's contention (p. 59) that "the 'dyarchy' never in reality existed" is invalidated, because his theory is based in part on the errors mentioned above. Some minor points which need correction may be noted briefly. It is reasonably certain that Augustus held the office of censor (p. 17). The census for a senator was 1,000,000, not 1,200,000 sesterces = £10,000 (p. 18); cf. Dio 54.17. Suetonius (Aug. 41) has been misled in mentioning the latter sum. Augustus removed 200 men from the Senate (p. 17), it is true, but he added some new members; cf. Dio. 52.42. Probably the Senate, not the emperor, took the census in the senatorial provinces (p. 28); cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 55. One would infer from the statement on p. 177 that the present Pantheon was constructed by Agrippa. Of course it is the work of Hadrian. Of misprints or slips one may mention "concilium" for *consilium* (p. 66), and "to impose" "great privileges" (p. 178). In the chapter on "The Domestic Policy of Augustus" something should have been said of the emperor's regulations concerning the knights and the Augustales.

The four chapters on the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Arabia, Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor give an admirable account of the geography of these regions and of the conditions of life in them. They take into account the latest investigations, and form an excellent pendant to the author's sketch of provincial government, to be found in his prize essay on *Roman Provincial Administration* (1879). The different methods which the Romans adopted in the East and the West, and their comparative failure in substituting Roman for Greek civilization in the Orient, are brought out with great clearness. We miss a treatment of the cult of the emperor in these discussions of social conditions in the provinces. Probably Samos should be added to the two Roman colonies in Asia mentioned on p. 232. The phrase, *ἔτους κυλωνίας*, applied to it in an inscription cited in the *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F., XXII., p. 325, seems to point to this conclusion. The editor's bibliographical note on the provinces (pp. 246-248) is not thoroughly satisfactory. Even for the general reader Halgan's *Les Provinces Sénatoriales* (1898), Chapot's *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie* (1904), and other books of like character should have been mentioned.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: Introduction à l'Histoire des Écoles Carolingiennes. Par M. ROGER, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: A. Picard et Fils. 1905. Pp. xviii, 457.)

M. ROGER's book is true to the programme of its title. It traces conscientiously the distressed currents of education in Latin letters from the time of the rhetorician poet Ausonius to the period when the great

educator Alcuin labored so effectively to meet the needs of Frank and Saxon learners. The book does even more; for it goes back of the period of its nominal commencement, and considers the scheme of study as laid out by Quintilian. Thence it advances, noting the abandoned threads of classic discipline, and following those which merely decayed and did not break.

The literary skill of Boissier or the constructive imagination of Ozanam would be needed to make a discussion of Latin education in these centuries interesting or especially suggestive. M. Roger is but fair-minded and painstaking. He is occupied with a time of literary decay, and one as to which our information on the topic of Latin studies is so unsatisfactory that a work like the one before us necessarily becomes a thesis on the paucity of our veritable knowledge upon the subject of the book. Nor would the author's modesty lay claim to having exhausted such information as may be had. One notes that his treatment of classical education in Italy is inadequate. He refers to Giesebrecht's *De Litterarum Studiis apud Italos*, etc., but appears unacquainted with Novati's *Influsso del Pensiero Latino sopra la Civiltà Italiana del Medio Evo* (1899) and Salvioli's *Istruzione Pubblica in Italia nei Secoli VIII, IX e X* (1898). Again, in what the author has to say of Fortunatus, one might have expected a reference to Wilhelm Meyer's *Der Gelegenheitsdichter Venantius Fortunatus (Abhandlungen d. kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., n. f., Bd. IV., No. 5, 1901)*; and some reference, when discussing Caesarius of Arles to Carl F. Arnold's elaborate monograph, *Caesarius von Arles und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit* (1894).

In general, however, M. Roger's learning is sufficiently exhaustive; and while on many branches of his subject he has little to offer that is novel, we think that he has made an important contribution to the discussion of Latin letters in Ireland during the fifth and following centuries. This is a matter on which there has been enough genial generalizing; but we know of no such thorough investigation of the somewhat squalid data as M. Roger has presented. His theme is not the entire history of the Irish schools, but is confined to the sixth and the first half of the seventh century, when the Irish were "les représentants les plus actifs de la culture classique dans l'Europe occidentale" (p. 202). With the close of the seventh century, the centre of interest passes, as he says, to Great Britain, where Aldhelm, Bede, Egbert, and Alcuin take up the torch of learning, and prepare "le programme du futur enseignement des écoles carolingiennes" (*ibid.*). M. Roger seems to express the kernel of his thesis when he says: "Au lieu de considérer l'histoire de la culture classique en Irlande, du IV^e au IX^e siècle, comme un mouvement provenant d'une impulsion unique, il faut y distinguer des époques différentes, caractérisées par la diversité des influences subies, et ne pas rechercher une solution, qui explique à la fois la teinture

classique de Columban et la culture philosophique de Scot Érigène" (p. 207).

The method of the author seems sound. The attention of scholars has frequently been attracted to the brilliant performance of certain men of the ninth century, who probably were Irish (Erigena, Sedulius Scotus, and others) but lived chiefly on the continent. It is manifestly hazardous to draw, from the character of their work, inferences as to the state of learning in Ireland two or three centuries before. For the sixth and seventh centuries, M. Roger finds that certain groups of Irish monks devoted themselves to the study of Scripture and the works of the Latin Fathers. The efficient prosecution of their sacred studies was the motive impelling them to acquire a knowledge of Latin letters. From this they were led on to a study of rhetoric and the classic writers. The author in part ascribes the readiness with which Irish students passed from sacred to profane studies to the circumstance that Irishmen had inherited no aversion to the profane character of these writings, since the heathen Irish past, from which the race had been converted, had no connection with classic paganism (pp. 236-237).

We cannot follow M. Roger further, for instance through his consideration and incidental minimizing of the work of the Irish for the diffusion of letters on the continent in the sixth and seventh centuries (p. 403 *et seqq.*); but will close with the remark that whatever credit he takes from the Irish, he carries to the account—and quite properly as we think—of the great Anglo-Saxons who learned and labored at Jarrow and York. They indeed had drawn from Irish teachers, but had profited quite as much from the learning brought to England by the African Hadrian and Theodore of Tarsus, whom Pope Vitalian sent in 669 to take charge of the See of Canterbury.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Codex Diplomaticus Moenofrancofurtanus. Urkundenbuch der Reichsstadt Frankfurt. Herausgegeben von JOHANN FRIEDRICH BOEHMER. Neubearbeitung auf Veranlassung und aus den Mitteln der Administration des Dr. Johann Friedrich Boehmer'schen Nachlasses. Erster Band, 794-1314; zweiter Band, 1314-1340. Bearbeitet von FRIEDRICH LAU. (Frankfurt am Main: Joseph Baer and Company. 1901, 1905. Pp. xii, 562; vii, 645.)

THE edition of documents relating to Frankfort which Boehmer announced in 1826 and finished ten years later seemed so worthy in purpose and so well done that it was widely imitated. It became the forerunner and in great part the model of many collections of sources upon German towns. It had, however, along with the opportunity of pioneer

work, also the disadvantage. Students of a new generation found its references and explanations insufficient, its lack of an index a constant source of needless labor. They found also—as various archives came to be better ordered—that it gave by no means all the available sources upon medieval Frankfort; not only for the fourteenth century, which it pretended to cover by a selection, but as well for the period down to 1300, which it professed to cover fully. The entire work, through little or no fault of Boehmer's, called for redoing.

Accordingly, as long ago as 1880 the administrators of Boehmer's estate provided for a new edition of the *Frankfort Codex*. The work upon it, however, advanced but too slowly until it was entrusted, in 1897, to Friedrich Lau, who was able to give it for more than a year and a half his entire time. By help of the many copies and collations made by his predecessors, Grotefend and von Nathusius, and by much research on his own part, Dr. Lau has brought together, along with most of the pieces in the original edition, a great amount of new matter. Boehmer's single quarto contained, all told down to the year 1400, 1,026 documents. The two quartos of the new edition have 1,699 numbers, together with some additional matter, and go only to 1340. Also, the definite and concise references and explanations accompanying the successive pieces, and the carefully-wrought index at the end of each volume, show a clear appreciation of what present-day students require of such collections. Errors in detail were not wholly to be avoided; scholars of special competence in the local history have pointed out a considerable number of them in the first volume (von Nathusius, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 21, pp. 211–216; Reimer, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 164, pp. 826–830). Especially, the index, careful as it is, still is not so helpful as it might be with regard to forms of names and locations of places. These shortcomings, however, are of relatively little moment; in the main, the editor has done his part with entire success.

With this enlarged and properly equipped body of sources, it will be possible to extend in many directions present knowledge of the people of medieval Frankfort. Their local public institutions can now be better known. Relations they had with the emperor, and with others outside the city, can be seen in more detail. Probably, however, no sides of their history will profit more strikingly than those relating to economic and social conditions, especially in the first half of the fourteenth century. On such matters some of the new pieces will prove of quite unusual interest, notably the wills in nos. 377, 412, 425, 475, 517, 575, and 621 of vol. II. The new *Codex* thus is in a way to give aid not only on the sorts of questions that Boehmer had most in view, but also on others which have come within the vision of historical students chiefly since Boehmer's time.

Dr. Lau takes leave of the work with the second volume. His

successor, whoever he may be, will have but to continue—with some improvements in detail—upon the model already provided.

EARLE W. DOW.

An Epitomized History of the Militia (the "Constitutional Force") together with the Origin, Periods of Embodied Service and Special Services (including South Africa, 1899-1902) of Militia Units Existing October 31, 1905. Compiled by COLONEL GEORGE JACKSON HAY, C.B., C.M.G. (London: The United Service Gazette Office. [1906.] Pp. 444.)

COLONEL HAY exercised good judgment in describing his work as a compilation. That it is a compilation is obvious on almost every page; and as regards smoothness and easy reading it has most of the drawbacks of a compilation—drawbacks that at times are a little disconcerting if not irritating to the reader. But, this said, it must at once be added that the compilation is marked by good arrangement of material and admirable grouping; and that by the enormous labor that Colonel Hay has bestowed on his work he has produced a volume of first importance to students of the military and constitutional history of the United Kingdom.

The book bears the marks of having been written chiefly for students of military history and organization; and these students cannot but admire the enthusiasm which Colonel Hay has put into his work, and the infinite care that he has taken with details. Some of the constitutional aspects of the militia are lacking, due chiefly to the fact that Colonel Hay has taken his Parliamentary history mostly at second hand; that he has not himself gone to the *Journals* of the two Houses of Parliament and to the Parliamentary histories and the Hansards. Had he gone to these sources, in particular had he gone to the Hansards for 1831-1832, he would have been able to round out his excellent summary of the statutes enacted for the raising, organization, and government of the "Constitutional Force" from 1122 to 1902, by an account of the circumstances under which balloting for the militia was allowed to fall into desuetude.

For many years before 1831 it had been, as Colonel Hay incidentally shows, more politic to raise the militia by beat of drum and bounties than to raise it by ballot under the more modernized system which had been established by the famous Militia Act of 1756 and the Explanatory Act of 1758. But although there was little need for the services of the militia between the peace after Waterloo and the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, the ballot survived as late as 1831. At this time the movement for Parliamentary reform was about to achieve its first great success. The measure which ultimately became the Act of 1832 was under discussion in Parliament. It did not go far enough for some of the Radical reformers in London. The ratepaying qualifica-

tion for the boroughs, as then proposed and as ultimately embodied in the act, still excluded thousands of occupiers of small houses from the Parliamentary franchise; and when the militia ballot for 1831 was taken, a number of North London Radicals, at the instigation of William Lovett, wrote across their schedules for the militia "No vote, no musket." When these men were balloted, they refused either to serve with the militia or to pay the £15 for a substitute. Lovett's household furniture was seized by the sheriff's officers. There was much popular commotion over the seizure. A petition to the House of Commons followed; it was presented by Hume and Cobbett. In general the ballot for the Middlesex Militia in 1831 caused so much disturbance that the Whig government allowed the balloting to come to an end; although there are still on the statute-books laws that would admit of a return to the old system, there has been no balloting since 1831, and, as the South African War made plain, volunteer recruits for the militia as for the regular army are never lacking at a time of national crisis.

Earlier stages in the history of the militia, especially in the eighteenth century, could have been much more illuminated than they are in Colonel Hay's pages had he given as much care to the Parliamentary debates as he has given to the chronicles, the older standard histories, the papers at the Record Office, and the regimental histories. The archives of the English counties and boroughs also contain material of value concerning the militia, most of which is now available in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; and English biography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not without matter which would have added to the human interest of some of Colonel Hay's chapters.

Still, for students of constitutional history there is nothing in print which can be compared with this history of what Colonel Hay styles the "Constitutional Force". The summary of the militia ordinances and laws from the reign of Henry I. to that of Edward VII., which covers just one hundred pages, in itself enables a student to trace all the changes which the militia has undergone; to realize its local organization, how it was recruited, how officered, how disciplined, the varying length and nature of the service, how the force was paid, and the parts which king, Parliament, and lord lieutenants of counties have had in its economy.

Much of the material which Colonel Hay has collected and arranged so well in these chapters, including as it does royal warrants, army orders, government orders, and War Office circulars, will appeal to students of social and economic conditions in England. So also will the chapters on the discipline, equipment, and clothing of the militia; while Colonel Hay's chapters on the arms of the militia, and his statistics of the aggregate strength of the forces at frequent periods

between 1539 and 1902, which are for the most part set out in tabular form, make his book of permanent value to students of British military history.

Great enthusiasm for the task and much painstaking care have obviously gone into the second part of the work (pp. 187-444), which is devoted to records of the origin, periods of embodied service, and special services in England, Scotland, and Ireland and abroad of the 168 units of militia which were in existence on October 31, 1905. It is only to be regretted that Colonel Hay's great interest in his work did not impel him to add a bibliography and an index. Both are lacking; and the lack of a bibliography is the more noticeable because neither in the text nor as foot-notes does Colonel Hay give the page of the books which he uses as authorities. These two defects, but especially the lack of an index, tend greatly to lessen the serviceableness of this history of the "Constitutional Force" as a work of reference.

Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich. Von DR. ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI. Band II. *Der Kreuzzug, 1187-1191.* (Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung; Paris: H. Le Soudier. 1906. Pp. xxxi, 360, and four tables.)

Six years have elapsed since Professor Cartellieri of the University of Jena completed the first volume of his generously planned work on Philip Augustus (1899, 1900), the earliest installment of which was noticed in this REVIEW in its issue of October, 1899 (V. 116). He has now carried forward his task with similar amplitude of plan and thoroughness of execution to the return of his hero from the Holy Land to Paris in the closing days of 1191. As its title indicates, the portion of Cartellieri's elaborate biography now under review has as its theme Philip's relations to the Third Crusade; but the author takes a much wider range of events into consideration than those of the mere military expedition itself in order to show its antecedents, the preparations for its accomplishment, and the financial and governmental devices to which it gave rise. Thus, he sketches the plans for aid to the hard-pressed Holy Land presented in England and France from 1146 to 1187, and the misfortunes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem which were the immediate causes of the Third Crusade. This attempt to put the event itself in its proper historical setting is effectively accomplished.

Probably Professor Cartellieri's most interesting contribution to the discussion of the problems which the crusading movement brought forward is regarding that of taxation. The religious purpose gave ground for imposition upon all classes of society, and the author concludes (p. 85):

Let the origin of the crusading movement be what it may, the State desired to execute it. For that purpose it needed money, much money, money immediately. The devices of feudalism could not furnish it.

The Church, which had so often laid hindrances in the way of the central authority, then came forward and helped the State to raise the means. Out of the necessities of the Holy Land, which united in sympathy all that was called Christian, modern tax legislation arose.

Professor Cartellieri shows that the union of France and England in the crusade was but a brief and imperfectly realized interlude in the rivalry of the Plantagenet and Capetian houses. He makes evident the difficult position of Philip during the trying winter in Sicily and the siege of Acre in the face of the better equipment, more extensive means, and overbearing conduct of Richard I., and vindicates for the French king a high degree of political wisdom in a situation fraught with the gravest dangers. In Professor Cartellieri, Philip has a warm and on the whole successful defender. Even his abandonment of the crusade is fully justified in the view of the biographer (p. 261):

He had the welfare of France singly and alone in view, and therefore his act, which wounded the religious feelings of his contemporaries, deserves high recognition from the point of view of the French monarchy. But from the point of view of the crusade even it deserves no blame, since, though highly disagreeable, it was the consequence and not by any means the cause of an untenable situation. What deserves the sharpest blame is the perpetual discord and selfishness of occidental as well as of oriental Christians. Herein lay an insuperable hindrance to the restoration of sound conditions in Palestine. But if it is asked, who sowed the discord, the chief responsibility falls on Richard.

Whether Philip deserves this degree of clearance from blame for the failure of an undertaking of such magnitude and public interest or not, Professor Cartellieri has made an effective presentation in his behalf. The volume with its ample bibliography and appendixes well sustains the promise that, if its author's intention is carried out, we shall have an adequate biography of one of the most interesting and significant of medieval sovereigns.

WILLISTON WALKER.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. In four volumes. Volume II. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 608.)

THE second volume of Mr. Lea's great work on the Spanish Inquisition deals with its jurisdiction, its organization, its revenues, and its procedure. Its jurisdiction was limited to heresy; but heresy, as Mr. Lea shows, was a comprehensive term. It included all lapses into Judaism or Mohammedism; for all but christianized Jews and Moors had been driven from Spain, and, once baptized, all apostasy was heresy. It included, for reasons known only to the Inquisition, all seduction of penitents by their confessors. It included not only all conscious variance from the prescribed religion, but all accidental and unconscious

as well. This was "material" heresy, voluntary and pertinacious error being "formal" heresy. But formal heresy comprised not only "external", which is manifested by word or act in private or in public, but "internal", which is secretly entertained and never manifested at all. Not all, however, were ready to admit its exclusive jurisdiction as to heresy, and Mr. Lea illustrates at much length its controversies with the regular orders, with the bishops, and with the papal see, pausing for a chapter to tell of the "edict of faith", by which every Spaniard was urged and equipped to become an informer. "No more ingenious device", thinks Mr. Lea, "has been invented to subjugate a whole population, to paralyze its intellect and to reduce it to blind obedience."

Under the organization of the Inquisition he treats not only its salaried officers—the Inquisitor-general and the Supreme Tribunal at its head and the permanent members of its local tribunals—but the vast army of unsalaried officials, into whose ranks by pride or perquisite was tempted nearly all the talent and energy of Spain: the *calificadores*, or censors, whose unpaid functions enlisted and burdened all orthodox scholarship, the honorary consultors, the well-fed commissioners, the host of officious familiars. A chapter deals with the peculiarly Spanish notion of *limpieza*, or purity of blood, which made it infamy to be descended, no matter in how slight degree, from Jew, Moor, or heretic, and which, by thus making the Inquisition the custodian of the national vanity, put at its mercy the purse and the self-respect of every Spaniard.

A sordid side of the Inquisition's story is that laid bare by the commercial experience and insight of Mr. Lea in his chapters on its resources. Studying with him the confiscations and fines by which Spanish royalty knew how so opportunely to meet its own financial emergencies, it is not always easy to share his generous faith in the pre-eminence of piety among its motives. But the portion of the present volume which is likely to be of widest interest is that dealing with the practice of the Inquisition. Here less than elsewhere are manuscript sources the basis. The old printed manuals of procedure find here their use; and in a note (pp. 475-476) Mr. Lea gives a useful bibliography of these. It may be worth while to add that the original impression of Alberghini's *Manuale* is of Palermo, 1642, not of Saragossa, 1671, and that the treatises of Simancas may be found in his collected *Opera* as well as in the separate editions. Relentless as is Mr. Lea's analysis of the cruel unfairness of the Inquisition's methods, he feels constrained to admit their efficacy (p. 482):

The situation of the accused, in fact, was helpless. Standing up alone before the stern admonitions of the trained and pitiless judge; brooding in his cell, cut off from all external communication, during weeks or months of interval between his audiences; apparently forgotten, but living in the constant uncertainty of being at any moment summoned to appear; torturing his mind as to the impression which his utterances might have made, or the deductions drawn from his admis-

sions or denials; balancing between the chances of escape, by persistent assertions of innocence, and those of condemnation as an *impenitente negativo*, and urged by his so-called advocate to confess and throw himself on the mercy of the tribunal—it required an exceptionally resolute temperament to endure the prolonged strain, with the knowledge that the opponent in the deadly game always had in reserve the terrible resource of the torture-chamber.

Yet the picture is not absolutely black. The prisons of the Inquisition, foul though they often were, were at least, thinks Mr. Lea, "less intolerable places of abode than the episcopal and public gaols" (p. 534).

An appendix of documents closes the volume.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG PASTOR. Vierter Band: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance und der Glaubensspaltung von der Wahl Leos X. bis zum Tode Klemens' VII. (1513-1534).* Erste Abteilung: *Leo X.* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 1906. Pp. xviii, 609.)

SINCE Professor Pastor in 1895 gave us the third volume of his history of the popes, another decade has rounded to the full. He has made good use of it. The new volume is a masterpiece. The flattering reception it has thus far met from scholars, Protestant as well as Catholic, is due, indeed, not wholly to its superiority over its predecessors. The last ten years have seen a notable broadening of the horizon of Protestant historians and critics; and the bitter book of Denifle, so able yet so unfair, must have contributed both to abate their complacency and to deepen their appreciation of an opponent who can be at the same time loyal to his own faith and just to its foes. But there is surely progress, too, in Dr. Pastor's work: a clearness of insight, a ripeness of judgment, a charm of style, which his earlier volumes had not reached.

His characterizations are veritable cabinet-pieces—none more so than that of Leo himself (pp. 350-351):

The outward appearance of the Pope who gave a name to the beauty-drunk age of the high-Renaissance had in itself nothing attractive. Leo X. was of more than middle size, broad-shouldered and very corpulent, yet, as Giovio insists, bloated rather than really strong. His unusually large and clumsy head, which rested on a thick, short neck, was out of all proportion to his other members. His legs, well-formed themselves, were too short for the heavy body. Handsome were only the snow-white, well-kept hands, which the complacent Medicean loved to adorn with costly rings. The unattractiveness of the flabby, fat face was heightened by the purblind, greatly protruding eyes, whose extreme near-sightedness—a family heritage—forced the Pope, despite his early reluctance, to frequent use of a magnifying-glass. . . . But the unpleasant impression of his exterior vanished almost wholly on nearer association. The surpassingly melodious and pleasing voice, the witty and tactful diction, the wholly dignified yet intimately friendly and

often actually seductive bearing, the lively interest in scholarship and art, and the hearty, sunny fashion in which the Pope enjoyed the creations laid before him by the highly developed culture of the time—these could not but captivate all.

But the most striking quality of the book is its fairness. There was room for fear that on the hotly fought field of the Reformation even eyes so clear as Professor Pastor's might be blinded by the smoke; but of this there is no sign. He nowhere belies his sympathy with the cause of the Church; but he nowhere lets his sympathy color his facts. A long chapter is devoted to the dealings of the Curia with the case of Martin Luther. It is a theme which during these last years, especially since the opening of the archives of the Vatican, has busied some of the keenest of non-Catholic scholars. The labors of Karl Müller, of Aloys Schulte, of Paul Kalkoff, he has used to the full. Everywhere he has verified, at many points he has enriched them. But, to their honor, as to his, and to the encouragement of all honest research, there is between his results and theirs not a shadow of partizan variance. That in his book they recognize a like acumen and find as little ground for dissent, we know already from at least the pen of Kalkoff.

That Leo X., as has so often been assumed, failed to recognize the importance of the Lutheran schism and to take prompt measures for its suppression seems disproved. Such delays as there were must be ascribed rather to the dilatoriness of ecclesiastical procedure and to the political crisis brought by the death of Maximilian. What Leo failed to recognize was the pressing need of a reform. On this point no Protestant could be more explicit than is Professor Pastor (p. 4):

Ever more threatening became the signs of the times. It could not escape the attentive observer that at the accession of the Medicean a severe tempest was gathering over the Church. It was a stern trial which God suffered to come upon Christendom that in a moment of such peril there was raised to the chair of St. Peter a man who was not equal to the earnest tasks of his lofty office, aye who for the most part was wholly oblivious of them. With unexampled optimism Leo X. looked unconcernedly into the future, and, lost in his sport, deceived himself as to the seriousness of the times. Of a reform on the great scale which had grown a necessity he never thought.

And in the brilliant pages which describe the political successes of Leo and the bloom under his patronage of literature, of scholarship, and of art, the historian never obscures this fundamental defect. Yet, while thus maintaining the austerity of his standards and discriminating still between a Christian and a Pagan Renaissance, there is in these pages of Dr. Pastor hardly a trace of that somewhat unctuous censoriousness which gave so clerical a tone to his earliest volumes; and this but illustrates the ripening judgment and the mellowing temper which increasingly mark his work.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Primitiae Pontificiae. Theologorum Neerlandicorum Disputationes contra Lutherum inde ab a. 1519 usque ad a. 1526 promulgatae collegit denuo edidit commentariis praeviis necnon adnotationibus instruxit F. PIJPER. [Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, Derde Deel.] (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1905. Pp. xi, 642.)

IN the present volume Dr. Pijper, professor of Church History at the University of Leiden, reprints seven excessively rare Latin works directed chiefly against Luther. Each is reproduced complete, with the old marginal notes, all remarks by the editor being relegated to the foot of the page. The ancient spelling and punctuation are preserved, save that abbreviations are resolved and the hyphenation modernized. Each document has a long Dutch preface, explaining the genesis of the tract, with an analysis of its contents. The large amount of biographical material which these introductions contain renders them almost vivacious; the elaborate bibliographical and other notices are given in foot-notes.

The works presented are as follows: (1) *De trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione dialogus*, Antverpiae 1519, a work of the noted Jacobus Latomus (Masson), professor of theology at Louvain, defending the study of the great scholastic theologians against humanistic criticism. Though apparently attacking Petrus Mosellanus, the author is really breaking lances with Erasmus himself. (2) Latomus *De primatu Romani pontificis* (1525), a reply to Luther's *Resolutio super propositione sua tercia decima de potestate papae* of 1519. The introduction shows how the universities of Köln and Louvain differed on this vital subject. The incidental statement that Johann Eck was a Dominican (p. 89, cf. p. 502) is erroneous. (3) *Errorum Martini Luther brevis confutatio per . . . Eustachium de Zichenis* (1521). The author, Eustachius vander Rivieren, named himself Van Zichen after his birthplace; he was a Dominican monk and professor of theology at Louvain (died 1538). The preface gathers valuable biographical notices from sources not easily accessible. (4) In 1523 the same author published *Sacramentorum brevis elucidatio*, chiefly against Luther and his more radical admirers. The three works remaining are by Jakob van Hoogstraten (died 1527), a Dominican who became a leading professor of theology and inquisitor at Köln, the prosecutor of the celebrated Reuchlin, and therefore a chief butt of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. Dr. Pijper tells of Hoogstraten's life, of the literary attacks he endured, of his career as an inquisitor, and finally discusses him as an author. This preface is entertaining, and also excellent from the bibliographical point of view. (5) *Dialogus de veneratione et invocatione sanctorum, contra perfidiam Lutheranam . . . Authore I. Philaethe*, 1524. (6) *De purgatorio* (1525) attempts to prove against Lutheran objections that purgatory exists and that a satisfaction of divine justice takes place there. (7) *Disputationes contra Lutheranos*

(1526). These deal chiefly with the doctrine of justification by works, and are directed mainly against two priests belonging to the Brethren of the Common Life at Amersfoort, who were handed over to the secular authorities as heretics in 1526. In them Dr. Pijper has discovered two forgotten "martyrs of the Reformation" (p. 539). Hoogstraten's treatise interests the editor because of its out-and-out Pelagianism and its clear doctrine of salvation by works; he contrasts it in certain ways with the far superior *Confutatio pontificia*, presented in 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg.

The previous volumes of the series are *Polemische Geschriften der Hervormingsgezinden* (ed. Pijper, 1903), a reprint of eleven tracts; and *Het Offer des Heeren* (ed. S. Cramer, 1904), containing hymns and the oldest collection of letters by Anabaptist martyrs. Subventions from learned societies in Holland assure the continuance of the publication, destined to be an indispensable tool of abiding value for students of the movements connected with the names of Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and of the Anabaptist leaders, as well as of the history of the Roman Church in the Netherlands.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists. By HENRY C. VEDDER, Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. [Heroes of the Reformation, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxiv, 333.)

"If Luther had been crushed at Worms as Hus had been at Constance, we might now read as little of him as we do of Hübmaier", a man who in "learning, in character, in eloquence . . . was not less fitted for leadership than Luther or Zwingli" (p. 153). Even if one takes exception to this estimate, it is worth while to possess so careful a study of the only Anabaptist leader for whose biography fairly full material exists. The first complete life of Hübmaier in English, and the third in any language, the present work incorporates much that was valuable in Hoschek and in Loserth, and also rests on most painstaking reference to the writings of Hübmaier himself.

After a preliminary sketch of "The Anabaptists and the Reformation" the author follows the fortunes of Hübmaier, telling the little that is known of his promising university career while under the influence of Johann Eck at Freiburg and Ingolstadt, then outlining his picturesque activity as a popular preacher in Regensburg and in Waldshut, and detailing the various steps whereby he was led to embrace the Zwinglian position and at length to identify himself in 1525 with the Anabaptists. The author sides with those who maintain that Hübmaier revised and commented on the Twelve Articles of the insurgent peasants, but probably did not compose them. The nearly simultaneous discussion of infant baptism at Zürich Dr. Vedder ascribes not to the influence of

Thomas Münzer, as has commonly been done, but merely to a careful study of the Bible. In 1523 Zwingli had admitted that he found in Holy Writ no clear command to baptize infants; and only by sacrificing his original principle that no rite should be performed without plain warrant of Scripture had he conserved the traditional practice. Hübmaier was more thoroughgoing and rejected infant baptism, though there is no good reason to suppose that he ever followed certain Swiss Anabaptist leaders in giving up the practice of affusion in favor of immersion ("Excursus on the Act of Baptism among the Anabaptists", pp. 142-145).

After recanting his views at Zürich, Hübmaier, to whose sufferings on the rack his former friend Zwingli had been callous, was allowed to make his way unnoticed to a place of safety. Probably not later than July, 1526, he arrived at Nikolsburg in Moravia, where he enjoyed a little over a twelvemonth of notable success as a preacher and organizer, and published many tracts which Vedder reckons "among the best specimens of religious literature produced by the sixteenth century" (p. 157). He had also to oppose his fanatical brethren under Hans Hut and others, who advocated what may roughly be described as anarchy and Christian communism complicated with chiliastic notions. The establishment of the authority of Ferdinand of Austria in Moravia made it at length possible to arrest Hübmaier in the summer of 1527, probably on the charge of sedition; having recanted on all points save baptism and the Lord's Supper, he was burned at Vienna on March 10, 1528. After his death the Anabaptist communities in Moravia developed along lines which are of great sociological interest, and are ably set forth in the closing chapter of the book.

The appendixes are Hübmaier "On the Sword" and "A Forgotten Hymn." The metrical rendering of the latter mistranslates "scharren noch puchen" (*scharren und pochen*) (p. 317), which means to stamp and scrape with the feet as a sign of disapproval. As Anabaptist sources are at present almost inaccessible to one who does not read sixteenth-century German, it is sincerely to be hoped that the author will carry out his plan, expressed in the preface, of publishing all the important works of Hübmaier in English. The very useful bibliography includes a list of twenty-six productions of Hübmaier; one regrets, however, that the names of authors are printed without initials. The "Excursus on the Spelling of Hübmaier's Name" (pp. 66-68) gives twenty variants; the forms employed most frequently by their owner late in life are Huebmör or Hübmör.

There are some things that we question in the book. In his treatment of character the author, though desirous of clearing the memory of Anabaptist leaders such as Ludwig Hätzer from charges he regards as slanderous, is careful to show that the behavior of Hübmaier when cornered and especially when under the shadow of the rack was "far from heroic" (p. 236). The unfavorable remarks about Hübmaier as

a Jew-baiter (p. 43) might, however, be tempered by alluding to the way in which "usury" was decried on all hands in the Middle Ages and well into modern times, the authority of the Old Testament and of the Church being backed up by a false theory of the nature of money. Against Luther as a controversialist the author employs the deadly parallel: to turn from *Wider Hans Wurst* or *Contra Henricum Regem* "to any writing of Hübmaier's, is like escaping from the mephitic odours of a slum into a garden of spices" (p. 158); though he admits that his hero "sometimes offends against a modern sense of propriety in speaking of and to his adversaries" (p. 217). Evidently no admirer of the Jesuits, Dr. Vedder designates their vigilant attitude toward heretics in Moravia as one of "persistent malignity" (p. 268). He shows similar sectarian bias in saying, "In an age of credulity and superstition he [Hübmaier] stood for the gospel proclaimed by the Apostles" (p. 271). The statement that, to remedy depopulation caused mainly by persecution, every man in Moravia was given "the extraordinary privilege of taking two wives" (pp. 269-270) should not pass unchallenged.

The numerous illustrations, gathered for the most part by the author in 1904 while visiting the scenes depicted, are not all upon the high level attained in some of the other volumes of the series. To be told that a picture is "from an old woodcut" does not help one to know even its proximate source, to say nothing of estimating its historical value. After what Denifle has written concerning idealized portraits of Luther, one becomes a bit skeptical about the accuracy of Houston's mezzotint of Zwingli (reproduced p. 138): how does that harmoniously aquiline profile agree with the portrait in the Zürich City Library (Samuel Simpson, *Life of Ulrich Zwingli*, New York, 1902, frontispiece; cf. the anonymous contemporary woodcut in Gualther's edition of Zwingli's works, Zürich, Fröschauer, 1545)?

A serious hindrance to the enjoyment of the book is the manner in which extracts from the sources constantly block the flow of the narrative. If much of the material were relegated to foot-notes or appendixes, the reader would feel more directly the charm, the tragedy, and the great significance of the career to which Dr. Vedder has devoted so much sympathetic study.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

John Calvin, the Organiser of Reformed Protestantism, 1509-1564.

By WILLISTON WALKER. [Heroes of the Reformation, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. Pp. xviii, 456.)

SINCE the publication of Dyer's *Life* in 1850, there has been no biography of Calvin of importance written in English. Since that time there have appeared the monumental fifty-nine volumes of Calvin's works by the Strasburg editors and a mass of other valuable docu-

mentary and critical material. Professor Walker's well-recognized qualifications have enabled him to make good use of his rare opportunity. A bibliographical note briefly characterizes the most important material with scholarly discrimination; and the book gives the clearest evidence of judicious use of the printed documents and the latest books and articles.

The most critical piece of work in the book is chapter iv., on Calvin's "Religious Development and Conversion." The author's tentative dating of the conversion (p. 96) as "late in 1532 or early in 1533" is likely to win acceptance, especially as his critical examination of the scanty evidence and many theories leads him to agree substantially with Kamp-schulte and Lefranc and to reject the more extreme dates advocated by recent writers. "Whether Calvin actually composed any part of Cop's Address is . . . at best doubtful. The weight of evidence certainly now inclines to the negative side" (p. 101). The treatment of these two questions and the good sense of the conclusions illustrate the author's combination of painstaking investigation and sound judgment. The discussions of the Institutes and Calvin's theology bring out the essentials in Calvin's teaching with clearness and happy avoidance of technicalities. To the sound conclusion that Calvin's fundamental thought was the sovereignty of God, the author adds (pp. 416-417) the needed caution: "it is an error to describe predestination as the 'central doctrine' of Calvinism, though it became so under his successors and interpreters." Professor Walker with true insight points out that "the chief peculiarity" of Calvin's memorial to the Genevan council on January 16, 1537, "is not . . . its regulation of private conduct,—that existed before his work was begun,—but this provision for an independent exercise of ecclesiastical discipline" (p. 190).

The latter half of the book will probably prove most interesting to the general reader. The origin and nature of Calvin's liturgy is made clear. In its stateliness and adaptability the churches of the continent, Great Britain, and America have a spiritual inheritance inadequately recognized and utilized. The story of the return from exile, the discussion of the "Ecclesiastical Constitution" of 1541, and the many struggles carried on by Calvin are all given with admirable brevity and clearness. "The Tragedy of Servetus" is told with moderation and fair-mindedness. The book concludes with three excellent chapters on Calvin's influence, theology, and character. Professor Walker has rendered a service to a wide circle of readers by calling attention to Calvin's contribution to civil liberty, not merely through his theories of civil and ecclesiastical government, but also through the actual discipline which "made every Calvinistic parish a school of government" (p. 407). The estimate of Calvin's character is, like the whole book, admirable in its candor and freedom from bias, and in its ability to see both sides of mooted questions.

Twenty full-page illustrations add to the interest of the volume. The

author "has chosen . . . to lay special weight on Calvin's training, spiritual development, and constructive work" (p. iii), and he therefore has not attempted to discuss some topics which one would be glad to see treated by so well-equipped a writer. There is no discussion of Calvin's influence on French language and literature; of the Ordinances of 1561 with their significant changes as to marriage laws and the choice of pastors; of Calvin's liberal teaching on Sunday, or of the effect on everyday life of his ideas of prayer and Providence; or of the actual working of the system and the every-day conditions of the "Puritan town" of Geneva in the last ten years of Calvin's control.

There are no errors of vital importance. The reviewer would dissent from a few conclusions, which must, however, remain largely matters of opinion. The author's statement (p. 192) regarding the memorial of January 16, 1537, that "the plan which Farel and Calvin had presented became the law of Geneva in its essential features," needs qualification. The language of the vote is dubious; but the previous and continued policy of the council (the law-making and law-executing body) substantiates the conclusion of Roget and Cornelius that the council had no intention in 1537 and 1538 of enacting into the actual law of Geneva the "independent exercise of ecclesiastical discipline" which, as Professor Walker has so clearly shown, was the essential feature in Calvin's plan. Professor Borgeaud has pointed out that "the title *Vénérable Compagnie* . . . appears as such only in the seventeenth century."¹ The somewhat sweeping statement that the modern conception "of human admixture of error" in the Bible was "of course unknown" to Calvin will not stand before an examination of his Commentaries. Calvin's acknowledgment of the "manifest error" in Acts vii, 16 has been pointed out by Schaff. Calvin declared that it should be corrected; and it is interesting to find that the correction was made in a marginal note of the "Genevan Bible" of 1557. In verse 14 of the same chapter Calvin again speaks of other "errors of the writers who wrote the books."² The few slips in proof-reading are not troublesome, save a misuse of "that" for "what" (p. 37), several cases of *scholia* for *schola* (pp. 365-366), and two mistakes in the numbering of notes (pp. 40, 213). The amount to criticize is small; there is much to praise. To say that the book is the best biography written in English is not enough. No other equally brief life has so well assimilated the vast amount of material or summed up Calvin's character and career with so much insight; and no other life of Calvin preserves throughout so judicial a tone. It is a book whose scholarship will appeal to both the church historian and the general historical reader. It is likely to appeal to a somewhat wide circle, for it is trustworthy, brief, and interesting, and comes at an opportune time. The growing interest in Calvin's contribution to civil and intellectual freedom is likely to develop still more with the ap-

¹ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 352.

² "Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum", *Opera*, vol. 48, pp. 138, 137.

proach of the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth, when the international significance, not so much of Calvin as of his work, is to be celebrated in 1909 at Geneva.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

The Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, with a History of the Events of his Time. By WILLIAM W. IRELAND. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1906. Pp. xv, 513.)

UP to the present year there have been four elaborate biographies of young Sir Henry Vane, the hero and martyr of the English Commonwealth beloved by Milton: two by Englishmen, George Sikes, Vane's contemporary and disciple (1662), and John Forster; two by Americans, C. W. Upham and James K. Hosmer. To those lives Mr. Ireland adds a fifth, an English book though with an American imprimatur. Mr. Ireland has had a wide experience in the British empire (during which he has seen some military service) and considerable practice in writing books, and is strongly in sympathy with the ideas of the English Commonwealth—a proper equipment for a historian of the Civil War in England and the biographer of one of the chief figures of the time. His presentment is clear, his research has been long-continued and comprehensive, his judgment of men and events is not rashly or ignorantly given.

While it is abundantly plain that Mr. Ireland has been to the sources, there are many documents not cited by him of which we think he might well have availed himself. Of the writings of John Cotton he apparently has no knowledge, yet these were the foundations of the Independency which set up the English Commonwealth. We do not observe that he makes more than cursory reference to the records of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the Darby House Committee, or the Council of State, the executive bodies which in succession managed affairs; yet Vane was a leading member in all of them, and his activity cannot well be understood without a study of them; they are easily accessible in the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane. Nothing indicates that Mr. Ireland has used with care the manuscript diaries of members of the Long Parliament, now in the British Museum, or many things contained in the Thomasson Tracts that make the period vivid. The important works of C. Harding Firth, and the *Clarke Papers*, which throw such light upon the opinions and action of the army, the rank and file of the Ironsides, we do not find referred to; nor indeed do we regard Mr. Ireland's consideration of the influence of those humble but sturdy soldiers in promoting republicanism, while their leaders hung back, as adequate. As to Cromwell, no doubt a character hard to understand, we do not think the documents bear out Mr. Ireland's conception that his noble early fire became quenched in selfishness and that he died an unworthy usurper and tyrant. While Mr. Ireland has not used some important sources, he appears also to be uninformed or unappreciative of the conclusions of recent

writers in his field, conclusions which it was certainly proper to notice. "Later histories", he says (p. vii), ". . . I have not read, or only looked at after my pages were composed." We believe it would have been to the advantage of his book if more attention had been paid to the work of fellow-workers. Mr. Ireland makes no reference to certain ideas of American students as to the English Commonwealth and the proper place of Vane in history.

American scholars believe that in a curious way a reaction was felt in Old England from New England, even though the colonies of Bradford and Winthrop were so distant and feeble. It was particularly from John Cotton, the great minister of Boston, that a powerful influence went back across the ocean. Owen, Goodwin, and Nye, the ministerial leaders of the Independents in England, professed to have gained their ideas from Cotton's "Keyes" and "Way of the Churches"; while of the secular leaders, Cromwell was Cotton's warm friend and correspondent, and Vane, as has been said, was "trained in Cotton's study" during the time when, scarcely beyond boyhood, he played a part in Massachusetts. Hugh Peters, too, and Roger Williams, men who had been shaped in the New England environment, were in Old England affairs factors of consequence. Independency was often at the time called "the New England way". If American students of the period are correct, momentous indeed was the influence that went back to the Old World from Massachusetts Bay; the English Commonwealth was a mighty and noble manifestation. It came prematurely and apparently failed, but only apparently, for, as John Richard Green has said, "For the last two hundred years England has been doing little more than carrying out in a slow and tentative way the scheme of political and religious reform which the army [the Independents] propounded at the close of the Civil War" (*Short History*, ed. 1875, p. 548).

Since popular government, long the possession of America, grows apace also in England, the line of separation between the two great English-speaking bodies tends to fade out, and the "Anglo-Saxon schism" may perhaps at last be healed—a consummation devoutly to be wished, of which Vane, perhaps more than any other historic figure, is the type and prophet. C. W. Upham declared, two generations ago, that the "name [of young Sir Henry Vane is] the most appropriate link to bind us to the land of our fathers" (*Life*, ed. 1835, p. 99). He possesses perhaps the unique distinction of having had an eminent political career both in America and in England; and his career in England became an effort to establish American ideas, Abraham Lincoln's government of, by, and for the people. For that he strove long after even Cromwell became discouraged in his republicanism, and for that at last he laid his head upon the block. In his leading position in the English Commonwealth, as a strenuous champion of liberty in Richard's Parliament, and in the chaos which immediately preceded the Restoration, Vane may well be described as an American Englishman.

These views as to the English Commonwealth, and this larger and more interesting significance of Vane, American writers have fully presented. Of these views Mr. Ireland has no knowledge—or, knowing them, is not impressed. They are worthy of notice, if only to be pronounced unsound and extravagant. While finding Mr. Ireland's book lacking in some ways, its good purpose, scholarship, and sound republican spirit lead the reviewer to commend it as throwing much light upon its hero and the age in which he moved.

William Pitt Graf von Chatham. VON ALBERT VON RUVILLE.
(Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Three vols., pp. xii, 447; viii, 480; viii, 456.)

THIS is a book of unusual merit. Unfortunately, the author had no sooner published it than M. Mantoux discovered a mass of material for the history of England in the eighteenth century in the unpublished reports of parliamentary proceedings transmitted by the French ambassadors in London to the French government. These would undoubtedly have thrown much light on some of the episodes of Pitt's early parliamentary career. Similarly, the author would undoubtedly have found some shreds of information in the archives at Vienna, Dresden, and St. Petersburg, and might have added something by consulting the *Sbornik*.

These sources, however, could have yielded but little information which was not already at the writer's disposal and which he has given us in a book whose construction is a model. He has analyzed his subject carefully and has allotted to each part of it its proper space. He has in addition remarkable ability in presenting in a brief space the principal elements in a situation, an excellent example of which is afforded in his résumé of the political, military, and economic conditions in America before the Seven Years' War. Again, he has exercised admirable judgment and great critical acumen in treating his facts. In particular he possesses what most English writers lack, a proper appreciation of the importance of continental affairs in English history. As to matters military, which play such an enormous part in this period, he shows unusual information; and, while wasting no time over military details, he is able to explain the essential features of a campaign in such a manner that the veriest military tyro can grasp the situation.

In his judgment of Pitt the author is so far from being an advocate that he errs rather in being too severe. This is probably due in part to a healthy reaction against the usual uncritical panegyric which one finds in most English books on Pitt. Nevertheless, it is possible to go too far in reaction, and this von Ruville seems to have done. This is particularly the case when he attempts to explain the reasons for Pitt's acts and policies. He is constantly attributing to Pitt the meanest motives, as in regard to his attitude toward Walpole, which the author

contends was largely influenced by Pitt's expectations of a legacy from the Duchess of Marlborough. Similarly in regard to Pitt's attitude toward the statesmen who made the Treaty of Paris, von Ruville contends that Pitt was implacable because of another inheritance which he was expecting. These explanations are at the best but conjectures, and needless conjectures. In the case of Pitt's leaving office in 1762 the case is stronger, and it is likely, as von Ruville contends, that Pitt wished to avoid being responsible for a change of policy, which he saw was inevitable.

Even in matters which need no explanation on the basis of personal motives, von Ruville seems anxious to supply such a motive. Thus when Pitt advocates a partial reform of the parliamentary franchise, and one which would conserve many of the rotten boroughs, von Ruville argues that this was done because Pitt did not wish to ruin his children's opportunities for securing seats in Parliament. This is absurd. Pitt's suggestion was characteristically English, and resembles in many ways Cromwell's attempt at reform made a century earlier.

Von Ruville's conclusions as to Pitt's statesmanship are more nearly in accord with the traditional view. Pitt, he holds, was the greatest of English ministers. It must be admitted that the author gives the reader more reason for this view than any other of the biographers of the great Englishman. He shows clearly what the merits of Pitt were, and this is particularly the case in regard to Pitt's ability as a war minister. Probably for the first time, the reader understands why Pitt is to be credited with the victories of the Seven Years' War. Pitt's measures are detailed, his accuracy in judgment clearly demonstrated, and his keenness of intelligence and thorough knowledge of military affairs proved. But not everything is ascribed to Pitt. Von Ruville makes it clear that the conquests of Havana and of Manila were not due to his measures, as is generally asserted.

Pitt's statesmanship, says von Ruville, is noteworthy for its transition character. He was one who built upon old methods of government and old measures of policy, while at the same time attempting new measures and new policies which he dimly perceived must be the measures and the policies of the future. His successes and his failures sprang alike from this transitional character of his statesmanship. It is an acute and a true judgment, and explains why Pitt was not capable of ruling England after the Seven Years' War.

Von Ruville's attitude toward Newcastle and Bute must be noted and commended. He places both much higher than is usually done. He makes it clear that Newcastle was a man of considerable ability, good common sense, and ceaseless industry. Similarly he shows that Bute was by no means the insignificant politician that he is usually represented as being.

A number of minor criticisms may be offered. The author should have used at least Lecky and Moses Coit Tyler in his treatment of

American affairs. Again, he should have been more careful in his copying and in his proof-reading. A list of errata would include the following: "mine" for my, "Vandrenil" for Vaudrenil, "Fitsch" for Fitch, "stakes" for strikes, "Torysm", "an" for and, "£15,000" for £150,000, "Grag" for Gray, "engage" for enrage, "Jes" for Yes, "Bonawen" and "Boscawen" for Boscawen, "was" for what, "Gentleman Magazine", "breathing in" for breaking in, "Thankerville" for Tankerville. Note 2 on page 422, volume I., and note 3 on page 332, volume II., are full of misprints, and the latter is unintelligible. The translation of "all Tuesday" by *jeden Dienstag* completely changes the meaning of the original. There is no Berwickshire; the grandfather of Pitt looks very much like an interloper in spite of von Ruville's arguments to the contrary; the date of Pitt's baptism is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; finally the dreadful mixture of foreign words injected into the text is inexcusable.

Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique: Département du Loiret, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Orléans pour les États Généraux de 1789. Publiés par CAMILLE BLOCH, Inspecteur Général des Bibliothèques et des Archives, Archiviste Honoraire du Département du Loiret. Tome I. (Orléans: Imprimerie Orléanaise. 1906. Pp. lxxvi, 800); *Département du Rhone, Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux.* Publiés par SÉBASTIEN CHARLÉTY, Professeur à l'Université de Lyon. Tome I. (Lyon: R. Schneider. 1906. Pp. xviii, 722.)

AN account has already appeared in this REVIEW (XI. 534-537) of the historical commission established by the French government three years ago for the publication of documentary material relating to the economic history of the French Revolution. This commission, which takes its place beside that originally established by Guizot—long so well-known for the many important volumes which have appeared under its auspices in the vast series of *Documents Inédits*—owes its existence first and foremost to the enlightened socialist, Jaurès, who properly urged that the political phases of the revolutionary movement had received far more attention than the perhaps more fundamental and essential economic changes, which are still the subject of the most bitter differences of opinion. The commission is made up of well-known scholars under the chairmanship of Jaurès himself—Aulard, Brette, Bloch, Caron, Esmein, Gide, Glasson, Lavis, Levasseur, Sagnac, Sée, Seignobos, and others, most of whom are distinguished for their researches in the field in question. The first great undertaking decided upon was the publication of the local cahiers and, second, of the inventories and other material having to do with the assumption and

disposal by the state of the property of the clergy and of the émigrés. And it is the first volume of each of these two remarkable series which have now come to hand and demand our attention.

It is noteworthy that the two volumes are neither of them printed at the National Printing Office at Paris, but each in the region with which it has to do. Moreover, while externally they exhibit a close family resemblance, they differ in type and even in the size of the page, and are not given a number as members in a definite series. These are all indications of the decentralizing tendencies of the commission, which, in view of the now highly satisfactory organization of historical research throughout France, has probably wisely apportioned the labor connected with their vast undertakings among local committees, for which they have prepared careful directions. It is to be hoped, however, that the volumes will be numbered and listed in such a way that librarians and students of the Revolution may be able to satisfy themselves at any moment how far a particular set has progressed. The *format*, large octavo with a page somewhat shorter than that of this journal, is a convenient one.

A great part of the cahiers of the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, that is, the final redactions prepared for the deputies to take with them to Versailles, were, it will be recollected, published a good many years ago by the editors of the *Archives Parlementaires*. But their work was carelessly done, and the new commission headed by M. Jaurès wisely determined to reprint the cahiers included in this and a number of scattered collections along with the great mass of those which were as yet buried in the local archives. The magnitude of the enterprise may be judged from the fact that the cahiers of the single *bailliage* of Orléans (although by no means all are preserved and a number may be omitted by reason of their practical identity with others) will fill two stout octavo volumes. M. Bloch's first volume, which includes the parish cahiers of the rural districts and of the towns of the *bailliage* other than Orléans, is to be followed by a second devoted to the grievances of the guilds and other corporations and the cahiers of the secondary *bailliages* (of which the primary cahiers, it may be observed, are not to be found).

In seventy pages of introduction the editor discusses the important question, how far were the rural cahiers copied from one another or from models, and, where models were used, what were they? He shows that there was much imitation and that where several assemblies were presided over in turn by the same official he not unnaturally submitted to each new parish the cahier adopted in the last, which might or might not be seriously modified. Yet it would be quite preposterous, as he urges, to assume that there was not a general and genuine expression of popular opinion in these lists of grievances, even if their formulation in one parish was adopted verbatim by another. The second part of the editor's introduction attempts to give a picture of the economic conditions in the *bailliage* of Orléans in the year 1789. He

takes up the rural districts and the urban gilds in turn. The texts of the cahiers themselves are preceded by succinct accounts of the situation, size, and activities of the parish or town and of the amount of the title and taille. Here and there the editor adds a brief and valuable explanatory note. Of the impression made by the parish cahiers themselves there is unfortunately no opportunity to speak here, for we must turn to the other and rather more complicated volume of M. Charl  y.

The extent of the possessions of the church in 1789 and the results of their confiscation and subsequent sale by the nation are matters of almost contemporary interest, since they are so often alluded to in current discussions. Hitherto there has been no way of reaching well-grounded conclusions on the subject; but the volume in hand serves at least to illustrate in a single district the kind of material that is still available even if it is inadequate to form the basis of general conclusions. The editor has found it impossible to do more than summarize the inventories and entries of the sales. He does not attempt to give the documents themselves in extenso, for this would involve the useless repetition of legal formulas. "Il ne pouvait   tre question que de faire un choix dans la masse tr  s abondante de ces documents. La r  gle suivie a   t   de donner seulement, et sous la forme la plus br  ve, les documents qui font connaitre l'  tat des biens nationalis  s et les op  rations de la vente." It is to be regretted that one so well qualified to point out the bearing of the arid lists which make up his volume should have contented himself with a very brief introduction, in which he does little more than suggest one reason why the property usually brought much more than its estimated value, and secondly that he finds no indication of surprise or indignation on the part of the clergy during the process of nationalization. The conclusions to be drawn from the material he declares to be too numerous and too obvious to justify even a simple enumeration, especially as regards the most important question of all, the social and economic effects of the transfer of such a mass of property. He hints, however, that we are soon to have a doctor's dissertation upon this point.

Part I. (pp. 1-174) is devoted to the inventories of ecclesiastical property by institutions, based mainly upon the reports made by the clergy, and secondly to the inventories of the *biens nationaux* by communes. Part II. relates to the sales: (1) to the real estate (pp. 177-519) and (2) to the personal property (pp. 520-561). The volume closes with an appendix of cognate documents, including statements of the questions submitted by the local authorities to the committee of the National Assembly, a list of the old measures alluded to in the inventories; a table of the fluctuations in the paper currency from January 1, 1791, to its suppression; and finally a list of the indemnities granted to the former   migr  s in the department of the Rhone by the law of 1825. Extensive indexes are also furnished of names of places, of the former owners of the property, and of those into whose hands it fell.

In spite of Professor Charl  ty's confidence in the obvious implications of the documents he analyzes, only a specially trained observer is likely to extract a great deal from his volume, the character of which is, of course, entirely different from the clear and explicit cahiers. Yet one even slightly tinctured with curiosity in regard to the actual situation of the church at the opening of the Revolution will discover much of interest in the first chapter, which enumerates the ecclesiastical corporations—the numerous chapters, the secular and regular communities of men and those of the women, with a tolerably full account of their sources of income and of their numbers. For, as is well known, even the driest document or mere statistical table becomes more eloquent to him that can see than the glowing pages of the most fascinating historian.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Memoirs of the Count de Cartrie: a Record of the Extraordinary Events in the Life of a French Royalist during the War in La Vend  e and of his Flight to Southampton where he Followed the Humble Occupation of Gardener. With an Introduction by FR  D  RIC MASSON, Appendixes and Notes by PIERRE AM  D  E PICHOT and Other Hands. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1906. Pp. lxxxii, 249.)

THESE memoirs of an unknown cannot be dismissed with Louis XVI's impatient "Encore un m  moire!" Though not himself famous, Cartrie was famously related, for his sisters Mesdames Sapinaud and Bulkeley are well known in Vendean annals. While the memoirs may add little to the available stock of knowledge, they do present an unsurpassed picture of the Vend  e and of provincial France during the Terror.

Toussaint-Ambroise Talour de la Cartrie de La Villeni  re was born January 26, 1743, of a family of the judicial nobility in Anjou. At the age of eleven he entered the army, and soon joined the Regiment de Berri on service in Canada and surrendered with it at Montreal in 1760. He returned to France on parole, secured his discharge from the army, married his cousin, Anne-Michelle de l'  toile, and settled on one of the ancestral estates, Cartrie, a few miles from Angers. Here he followed the quiet life of a country gentleman, winning the devoted admiration of his dependents and neighbors and bringing up a family of three sons and three daughters. From this quiet existence he was driven by the events of 1793 to espouse the cause of the Vendean royalists. After the defeat at Cholet, he watched over the dying moments of his nephew, the brave and generous Bonchamp. Then, with several members of his family, he followed the fortunes of the Vendean host in the march to Granville; in the return to Angers, where he was active in the futile assault upon the town; in the march to Le Mans; and after the disaster of December 12, 1793, joined in the hopeless retreat to Ancenis. The failure to effect the crossing of the Loire

and the consequent dispersion of the Vendean army compelled the Talour family to separate for safety. Cartrie and one of his sons passed the winter secreted in the forest adjoining his estate and supported by his faithful adherents, but on February 27 they set out to reach the eastern frontier. Though it seems incredible that the journey could have been successfully accomplished, the son found safety by enlisting at Thionville, and the father ultimately escaped across the border on April 27, 1794. The penniless émigré found helpful friends and so made his way to England, where he joined the corps of émigrés who made the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon. Again he escaped, and after five years spent in poverty near Southampton, he was seeking permission from the First Consul to rejoin his family on his estate when the narrative closes. It is known that he did return and that he failed to obtain a pension at the Restoration. He is last heard of at Le Mans on August 30, 1824.

The memoirs are published from an English translation of the lost French original made by an unknown hand about 1824. The history of the manuscript is also a mystery. It is first reported in the possession of Isaac Latimer, editor of the *Western Daily Mercury*, whose daughter sold it to Mr. Iredale, the Torquay bookseller. Mr. Lane acquired it from him in October, 1904, and, after preparing the narrative for publication, deposited the manuscript in the British Museum. M. Pichot, the editor of the *Revue Britannique*, took an enthusiastic interest in the editing of the narrative and has prepared a French translation. M. Masson's introduction sets forth in a stimulating fashion some novel views of the Revolution. The book also contains a fascinating account of M. Pichot's work as editor, the translator's original preface, some valuable notes, a score of admirably chosen illustrations, a detailed table of contents, and a good index. Cartrie's narrative is thrilling; M. Pichot's editing almost perfect; and Mr. Lane's book-making very attractive.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century. By Dr. FREDRIK NIELSEN, Bishop of Aalborg, and formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Copenhagen. Translated under the direction of ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. (London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1906. Two vols., pp. xiii, 378; 481.)

THERE was great need of a history of the papacy in the nineteenth century. Church historians are too apt to think of the Council of Trent as the end of all things, and hardly realize that the twenty-five years that followed the election of Pius IX. are among the most momentous in the whole history of the papacy. For this, if for no other reason, the work of the Bishop of Aalborg¹ justifies its translation into English.

¹ Since translated to Aarhus.

In defiance of their title the two volumes now published set forth the history of the papacy from about 1640 to 1878. The treatment is episodic and not altogether complete, as, for instance, in its omission to deal with Americanism and with secularization in Germany after the treaty of Lunéville. Beginning with Jansenism the author leads us through the abolition of the Jesuits, Liguori, Febronianism, and Josephism to the great struggle of the papacy against Napoleon, and closes his first volume with the reaction of 1815. The second volume brings us rapidly to the pontificate of Pius IX., and then deals at considerable length with the Revolution of 1848-1849, with the proclamation of the dogma of the immaculate conception, with the bull *Quanta Cura*, and with the Vatican Council.

On the whole the value of the book is not difficult to sum up. It is not a work of great erudition, and it is not the work of a mind strong either in the critical or in the philosophical qualities. But, as against this, the Bishop of Aalborg has a very temperate, sympathetic outlook which is an inestimable advantage when dealing with theological questions, and he has apparently been in close personal touch with German thought of the *Kulturkampf* period, which lends weight to his statements, apart from the question of authorities, for the last part of his second volume. The first of these qualities is conspicuous in his statement of the question of the immaculate conception, which it would be hard to find fault with; the importance he attributes to Ferrone's little-known tract on latent tradition may be specially commended, as this was unquestionably one of the most important theological essays of the century.

The weakness of the book is to be found, as just stated, in its narrowness of treatment and in its lack of precision of detail. To take the latter point first. In the account given of the struggle about Jansenism at the French court, much is made of the attitude of Mme. de Pompadour and, in support, extracts are given from her letters (I. 32). The Bishop of Aalborg should, however, have known that these letters are forgeries. Their author was probably Barbé-Marbois, and, in any event, the internal evidence should have shown him their worthlessness at a glance. The whole of the account, running through several chapters, of Napoleon's relations with the papacy is very weak on the political side. Thus there is not one word to indicate that, in all his dealings with Pius VI. before the treaty of Tolentino, Bonaparte was frequently acting in flagrant opposition to the policy of the Directoire. Again, the resignation of the imperial crown by Francis II. is made to antedate the pope's decision to crown Napoleon (I. 269); and a distortion of history which is nearly as bad occurs in volume I., p. 120, where we are told that "the reduction of the Convents by Joseph . . . saved Austria from a revolution like the French Revolution", a statement all the more amazing when one recalls the course of the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands under that emperor. Even worse is

the absolutely fantastic account of the treaty of the Holy Alliance at I. 364; the Turk was not mentioned in the treaty, nor were the Barbary States, nor English commerce; and if the pope would not sign the treaty, his objections, like those of the sultan, were of a dogmatic nature. Coming to a later period, the Bishop of Aalborg shows only a slight acquaintance with *Risorgimento* literature, as when he omits Leopardi, the greatest of them all, from the poets who sang of the regeneration of Italy. Rossi was chosen to negotiate with Gregory XVI. on the Jesuit question (II. 90), not because of his knowledge of economics, but because he was a great canonist. The whole portrait of Cardinal Gizzi as Secretary of State (II. 121) is wasted labor because it omits the most decisive detail—that he was eighty-nine years of age. More important than this is the totally inadequate treatment of the very important allocution of April 29, 1848; all the significance is taken out of this by omitting to refer to the outside—especially German—pressure that was part cause of the allocution, and to the fact that by this pronouncement Pius broke away from the Italianism into which he had drifted to regain universalism, the only logical position for a pope, as Germany and the Jesuits took care to remind him. The Duke d'Harcourt was not privy to the flight to Gaeta; he was on the contrary duped by it (II. 104). In the Vatican Council period the author relies on ampler knowledge, though even here he is at times led away by his authorities, as when he states (II. 321) that "without Odo Russell's support the diplomatic astuteness of Manning would scarcely have been in a position to ward off the fatal diplomatic intervention which hovered steadily over the heads of the Council". This correction of details might be much extended, but space forbids adding more than this, that the lack of precision is due partly to deficient criticism, partly to inadequate sources. The authorities quoted are never more recent than 1896 or 1897, which excludes Debidour, who published in 1898; while of the others many are hopelessly antiquated, as, for example, Rennenkampff, who printed in 1813, on the excommunication of Napoleon by Pius.

And lastly it must be said that the book sins most of all by its lack of breadth and of historical proportion. Is it not for the historian of the church to inquire into the reasons why the Council of the Vatican tamely submitted to a dictation which the Council of Trent would not have tolerated? to trace the interaction between the growth of the doctrine of the papal infallibility and the development of nineteenth-century scientific thought? to take, in other words, the deeper causes that underlay the victories of obscurantism from 1848 to 1870, and to make some attempt to set them forth in their due relation to the evolution of European thought?

R. M. JOHNSTON.

Deutsche Geschichte von der Auflösung des alten bis zur Errichtung des neuen Kaiserreiches, (1806-1871). Von H. v. ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, Professor of History at the University of Graz. Dritter Band: *Die Lösung der deutschen Frage und das Kaisertum der Hohenzollern, 1849-1871.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Pp. x, 504.)
La Fondation de l'Empire Allemand, 1852-1871. Par ERNEST DENIS, Professeur d'Histoire Contemporaine à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1906. Pp. viii, 528.)

THE first of these books is the concluding volume of a work to which the author has given a decade of labor, and which has already been recognized as the most important effort at general treatment in this field since Sybel. The author, for some time back the chief editor of the reorganized "Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte" (in which this work appears), may be regarded as the leading Austrian representative of the school of Sybel; and those who look to his pages for any considerable departure from the orthodox Prussian points of view will be disappointed. Austrian nationality and feeling are to be presumed in the alumnus and teacher of the University of Graz, and are indeed evident; but it is "Das Herz Deutsch-Oesterreichs, das deutsche Herz" of which Hamerling sings that guides his pen—the German feeling that looks over the border with bitter regrets and could, we suspect, be brought with no great difficulty to sacrifice Magyar-Slav association to the blotting out of that border. Nor does the author take any particular pains to conceal or moderate his political feelings; in his preface he tells us that

der Darsteller, der darauf ausgehen würde, objektiv zu erzählen, würde es niemandem recht machen und alle langweilen. Wir sind insgesamt mit so vielen intimen Fäden an die nächste Vergangenheit gebunden, dass wir bei der Betrachtung der jüngsten Geschehnisse unser Gefühl nicht gänzlich zum Schweigen bringen können . . . Es gibt keine Geschichte der Gegenwart . . . Indem ich in diesem dritten Bande an die Ereignisse von 1866 und 1870 herantrat, erkannte ich mit Bestimmtheit, dass hier die Gewinnung des historischen Standpunktes nur zum Teile gelingen kann.

This frank statement would be ill-requited by an undue insistence on the numerous instances in which the author's pen has betrayed his predilections, and the reviewer feels more inclined to point out that the book is to be taken much more seriously than these words might lead one to suppose. If it is not a "definitive" history of the period (which its author disclaims any hope of producing), it is in the main a full and judicious treatment of the political development, guided by the most approved methods and based on thorough study. The proportioning indeed is not always satisfactory, but the facts are well marshalled, the emphasis good, the language clear and effective; we doubt if there can

be found anywhere more lucid statements of the political and diplomatic situations or of the military operations. These are great merits; but there are also serious defects.

Apart from the confessed and almost unavoidable defect in objectivity, many students will find the book fundamentally unsatisfactory because of the limited point of view and range of interest represented. The narrative is practically a purely political and military one and, even when taken in connection with the earlier volumes, is marked by a neglect of non-political aspects and of mass-elements and developments in general that betrays a close adherence to methods now somewhat discredited. Of this of course we were warned in Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's preface to his first volume; but the intervening years have only increased the objections to this manner of presenting history. Even when the author deals with the Zollverein (in his second volume as in this), he does so mainly from the diplomatic point of view. This volume gives no attention to economic development; practically none is given to literature or the press, to religion or art. Educational conditions are not mentioned, and there seems to be an entire unconsciousness of the claims to investigation or presentation of public spirit or opinion even from the purely political point of view. If the book mentions Lassalle, the reviewer has not noticed it. It is clear that Zwiedineck-Südenhorst is interested only in the crises, the moments of the acceleration or explosion of historical forces, and only in the individuals who take leadership at such moments; interested in them as individuals, as standing on their own feet and through individual power controlling or modifying events. It is in accord with this line of treatment that so little space (practically only pp. 158-166) is given to the comparatively uneventful years 1851-1859; it is clear however that even from the personal and political point of view this is inadequate. That all this indicates a determined adherence to the point of view of the preface of ten years ago is shown in the declaration (p. 371) that

Die Zeit vom 4. bis 26. Juli [1866] ist reicher an diplomatischen Verwickelungen und Szenenwechseln als irgend eine Epoche der Geschichte Europas und sie ist vor allem dadurch bemerkenswert geworden, dass ihre Ereignisse fast ausschliesslich in den Charakteren der handelnden Personen ihre Begründung finden, dass Individualitäten und nicht Kollektivkräfte dabei ausschlaggebend geworden sind.

Historical students who find themselves involved in the complexities and obscurities of mass-factors can only envy the capacity at this day of proceeding upon such comfortable convictions.

The defects of this work will appear the more strongly when it is compared with the recent book by Denis on precisely the same period. The volumes naturally suggest comparison with respect to methods and points of view (especially as the element of nationality enters), and it will perhaps be not amiss for the reviewer to devote himself mainly to these aspects. M. Denis is also an academic historian and a prolific

writer of established standing, and in his preface he too makes confessions. His object is stated to be "donner un tableau général de la vie de l'Allemagne de 1851 à 1871, en étudier les divers côtés, politique, littéraire, économique, et indiquer ainsi les conditions qui ont préparé et déterminé la formation de l'Unité germanique". He might be thinking of Zwiedineck-Südenhorst when he protests against the writers who "exagèrent l'action des héros sur l'évolution du monde", and declares "que les accidents ne prennent d'importance que s'ils sont la conclusion et la sanction d'un long développement antérieur, et que les héros n'apparaissent et n'exercent d'action réelle que si les conditions générales les préparent et les soutiennent". The power of a Bismarck "ne s'explique que parce qu'il est la vivante synthèse de désirs infinis et de lointaines aspirations". In regard to political development he will try "de montrer, au milieu des incidents diplomatiques de portée secondaire, les causes lointaines et profondes qui expliquent l'attitude des cabinets et les déconvenues de leur politique". All this seems neither very unfamiliar nor very shocking, and we are rather surprised when M. Denis proceeds to say, "Je ne me dissimule pas combien cette conception de l'histoire s'éloigne de l'histoire dite scientifique qui est aujourd'hui en faveur", and announces that he will "indiquer nettement cette divergence" by suppressing all his notes. There would seem to be here something of inconsequence, and a writer of less standing would perhaps be exposed to some suspicion. But though the careful reader will frequently regret the absence of notes and references (in one instance, p. 317, a very important and definite promise of territorial compensation to France in 1866 is attributed to Bismarck without precise date or authority), and will be constantly irritated by obscurity and lack of precision in quotation, he will not fail to recognize the work of the serious student and to see that the author has a wide acquaintance with the best material. M. Denis also disclaims full objectivity, though not so strongly as Zwiedineck-Südenhorst; on the whole his narrative seems less marred by his prejudices.

As he fulfils his promise of presenting strongly the mass-factors, M. Denis's book forms an admirable complement to the other; how this is so, even in Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's own field, will be seen by comparing the treatment of military matters. The general European situations are given much more attention by Denis, though on the whole he keeps more closely to his subject than does the Austrian (who, for example, gives too much space to Austro-Italian warfare). Though emphasizing collective aspects, Denis by no means neglects the individual; indeed the great personalities of the time loom out of his animated pages more strongly than from those of the companion work. This is due largely to the degree in which he indulges his unusual talent for characterization, lavishing it at times on individuals of comparatively little importance. This is coupled often with a yielding to the tendencies of the natural gossip and raconteur, and is set off by a

gift of phrase and epigram that is not always sufficiently under control. One can understand why M. Denis is one of the most popular of French academic lecturers, and is led to surmise that the printed page has not always sufficiently felt the repentances of the proof-reading stage. One of the least agreeable manifestations of these characteristics is the Gallic sneer that frequently seems irrepressible; as when at the end of a passage of generous appreciation with respect to the National Association of 1859, he adds, "gymnastes, tireurs, orphéonistes, savants; d'un bout à l'autre du territoire, se grisaient de bière et d'éloquence" (p. 230), or speaks of King William in 1866 as still in need "de quelques mois pour rassurer sa conscience et pour mettre Jéhovah de son côté" (p. 322).

An instructive standpoint for the comparison of these books is with respect to their attitude toward the victorious Prussian. Both writers are strongly appreciative, surprisingly generous in their concessions; but while the language of the Frenchman is frequently the more unreserved, the feeling of the Deutsch-Oesterreicher is unquestionably the more sincere. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's Austrian spirit is betrayed in his intense bitterness against those (as Schwarzenberg and Beust) whom he regards as responsible for the mismanagement of Austrian interests in the building up of the new Germany; in the humiliated regret with which he acknowledges that Austria deserved defeat; in the exultation of his narrative of the Austrian defeats of Italy in 1866; throughout his whole narrative of the Prussian advance, however, he vies with Sybel and Treitschke in unfaltering justification and approval, and hardly lets us detect that his point of view is German rather than Prussian (see his denunciation of Hannoverian politics, pp. 159 and 330; also his rhapsody over the sacred union of hearts between Bismarck and King William, p. 243). He rarely controverts Sybel or questions the finality of the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*. Part of the explanation of this is doubtless to be found in the sympathy with Prussian internal polity of the born conservative and aristocrat (see his frequent denunciations of both Prussian and Austrian liberalism, as pp. 224, 237, 268), and in the present conditions of Austrian politics. Denis, on the other hand, while making every concession to Prussian astuteness and efficiency, and at times using extravagant language (as when he speaks, p. 297, of the "sublime esthétique" of the Moltke mobilization of 1870), frequently turns on the Teutonic conqueror with a bitter gibe or disingenuously plucks away his laurels by excessive and undignified condemnation of those with whom he had to do (as when, p. 302, after acknowledging the mastery of Bismarck in the Schleswig-Holstein matter, he points out his good luck, especially in that Napoleon was "un illuminé, Gortchakov un fat, les ministres anglais des poltrons et Rechberg un sot"). One suspects further that what is real in the Frenchman's admiration of Prussia is largely a real sympathy with the materially successful, a genuine acceptance of the lessons as to worldly efficiency that France

had been taught; of the criticisms of Moltke's Bohemian campaign he remarks, "Il est vain ensuite et puéril de s'inscrire en faux contre le succès" (p. 338).

We must refrain from following these writers into any of the many disputed episodes of these critical years. But it is difficult to refrain from comparing them with regard to that culminating and much-disputed event, the outbreak of war between France and Prussia. And the net result of the comparison is perhaps to show how near together have come the more enlightened minds. After stating clearly the conflicting national views, Zwiedineck-Südenhorst declares that "kann man doch mit voller Bestimmtheit aussprechen, dass weder die volkstümliche französische, noch die volkstümliche deutsche Anschauung richtig ist. Jede von ihnen leidet an innerer Unwahrheit" (p. 431). While there was a French court party desirous of war, the emperor remained convinced of the Prussian military superiority; while Bismarck had at first welcomed and worked for the Hohenzollern candidacy as likely to improve the Prussian position, he did not aim to bring on war thus with France, did not expect it to be thus brought on, and was not the leading spirit in the last phase of it; the sensitiveness of the French and the weakness of the emperor produced the war-situation, and when in the situation a final controlling opportunity fell to Bismarck, "er hat den Krieg gemacht . . . ; er hat aus den Falten der Toga, in die sich die preussische Regierung nach den Emser Vorgängen hüllen konnte, die Kriegsfalte fallen lassen" (p. 445), publishing the news from Ems in such a form as in view of the national feeling in both countries would be sure to precipitate the war. Denis on his part acknowledges to the full the mistakes of the French government, but denies that Napoleon in the years 1867-1870 was steadily trying to form a war-coalition against Prussia. "En dernière analyse", he says (p. 458), "si Bismarck rechercha la rupture, il y fut en quelque sorte contraint par le gouvernement français qui s'obstinait à se mettre en travers de sa route, tandis que l'Empereur qui redoutait la guerre, la rendit inévitable en se refusant à accepter les conditions sans lesquelles une entente durable était impossible." Bismarck, believing the war inevitable, deliberately brought it about through the Hohenzollern candidacy (which however he did not regard as making it certain), and it would have required great coolness and good sense on the part of the French government to keep the French people "de se jeter tête baissée dans le piège qui lui était tendu" (p. 459). If Bismarck had had his way, the matter would have been so managed by stealing a march on France that if war resulted Prussia would have had Spain as an ally; on the failure of this it is the mismanagement of the French government that brings the affair to such a pass as to make it again the best of occasions for the war, and Bismarck then again seizes upon the situation and purposely makes peace impossible through the brutal ultimatum form that he gives the Ems telegram.

It will appear from this that it would be a very delicate matter indeed to discriminate between the degrees of responsibility attached by the two writers to Bismarck. The most direct and serious disagreement between them is with regard to the factor of public feeling in France and Germany. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst declares that the whole French people must bear the responsibility, no serious effort having been made in any quarter to prevent the war; while Denis maintains that the German historians who say that French public feeling wanted war deceive themselves "volontairement ou non". With regard to German feeling, "die laute Zustimmung zur That von Ems" (p. 447) is to the Austrian a holy emotion, which he is proud to reflect that the Deutsch-Oesterreicher shared; to Denis the German outcry was due largely to the production by the university teaching of a youth that "n'a qu'un credo: la conviction de la supériorité de la vertu et de la science germaniques; qu'une religion: la force; qu'un besoin: la domination" (p. 471).

Neither of these books can be said to add much to our knowledge of the period, and it is not to be expected that they should. The careful reader will not be always in agreement with either, but will acknowledge both to be good summaries, useful especially for the general reader and in showing the student the present state of our information in this field. Neither claims to be presenting a definitive history, and both seem in consequence to feel more or less of irresponsibility as to the expression of personal views. Denis is on the whole quite as trustworthy as Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, and is much more brilliant and suggestive; there are more gaps, however, in his narrative, and he does not follow the political development as carefully. Unhappily neither volume is provided with an index.

VICTOR COFFIN.

A History of Modern England. By HERBERT PAUL. In five volumes. Volume V. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. vi, 405.)

THE fifth and last volume of Mr. Paul's *History of Modern England* begins with June 8, 1885, "a memorable day in English history . . . from [which] all subsequent events in this History take in some degree their colour." It was, in fact, the day on which Mr. Gladstone announced to the queen his defeat in the momentous general election of that year. The ensuing narrative concludes with Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's "shut[ting] up his box with a snap" (p. 268), resigning his office, and thus forcing the general election of 1895, which, like that of a decade before, brought defeat to the Liberal party. The preceding volume concerned itself with Imperialism and Ireland. The present volume is dominated by the course of the Irish question in English politics by which it first disrupted and then overthrew the Liberal party. It is, in brief, the tragedy of Home Rule, and it ends in doubt if not in despair. The only relief comes in the suggestions which abound, that

the final solution was not found in 1895, nor the Liberal cause forever lost. Coming events cast their shadows over many pages, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Paul may at no distant time write the story of the rehabilitation of Liberalism in the years from 1895 to 1906, and not leave us and the party at its overthrow, as he insists on doing.

The qualities of the earlier volumes naturally characterize the present performance, though the rapidity which marked the earlier work at times descends here almost to hurry. More than ever is it evident that Mr. Paul is a journalist. His work, clever and useful as it is, has no claim to be judged by the standards of de la Gorce or Rhodes. Whatever it gains in vividness, direct and striking statement, and that evanescent quality known as brilliance, by contrast with them it loses in the surer if less dazzling results of greater pains and patience. This is not saying that it is not excellent of its kind. But its kind is not that of de la Gorce and Rhodes. This is particularly apparent in two directions. The first is that Mr. Paul lives so strongly in the present that its influence tinges his narrative in many places, as for instance in the account of the Oxford meeting of the Conservative Association and its tariff reform resolution of 1887 (pp. 112-114). The second is the often-noted habit of judging individuals frankly and unashamed. It is his manifest intention to be fair, and in the main he is so. But he writes largely from the standpoint of a Gladstonian Liberal, and he is at times somewhat severe on Lord Salisbury and in particular on Mr. Chamberlain. Of the latter, his highest encomium is that he was "an adept in the arts of the caucus and the lobby" (pp. 63-64), while his opinion of Lord Salisbury (p. 115) is somewhat less favorable in certain directions than Bismarck's classic characterization. With respect to men outside the sphere of British politics, Bismarck's name offers a further illustration of the fact noted before, that in the case of matters and men apart from the direct current of English affairs there is apparent a certain superficiality of judgment. In the present instance, the statement of the position and activities of Germany and her chancellor in the partition of Africa (pp. 121-123, 131) is, at least, inadequate.

In the way of bibliography, Mr. Paul has been fortunate in having Mr. Churchill's life of his father to use. But this book, with Morley's *Gladstone*, O'Brien's *Parucll*, Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, Clayden's *England under the Coalition*, Lyall's *Dufferin*, and the *Times*, are literally the only sources quoted in the foot-notes of his main narrative, and most of these appear but once. Morley's *Gladstone*, of course, remains the mainstay of the book. It would be as absurd to imagine that these were all the works consulted by Mr. Paul as to judge his book by its foot-notes or bibliography; but these matters, with others in the present volume, seem to betray increasing haste or weariness, which the cleverness cannot wholly conceal. In this connection the proportions of the volume are interesting. The period from 1885 to 1890 receives 182 pages, that from 1890 to 1895 ninety-two. The rest of the book is made up,

first, of a brief chapter on "The New Unionism"; second, one on "The Triumph of Ritualism"; third, eight pages of "Conclusion"; fourth, an index to the five volumes. The weakest part of the whole work is the conclusion, and while the chapters on Unionism and Ritualism have a certain interest and importance, the whole group seems rather designed to make up, with the index, the necessary four hundred odd pages than for any more useful purpose.

The present volume, whose events coincide more or less accurately with an equally strenuous period in our own history, naturally suggests many parallels between American and English politics, and nowhere more than in a comparison of campaign amenities. Mr. Paul rather understates than overstates the zeal of the lady who compared Mr. Gladstone to Judas. It was, she said, flattery to compare the disestablisher of the Irish church to Judas. One on this side of the water is not impressed by Mr. Paul's comparison of the violence of the Home Rule campaign with the "academic calmness" of the bimetallism controversy. But in "Home Rule, Rome Rule", we come into instant touch with our similarly effective alliteration of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Though we have probably never had a statesman whose eye was permanently injured like Mr. Gladstone's by the playful practice of using candidates for targets after the English fashion, we have, on the other hand, equaled the famous unparliamentary performance here recorded, which took place on the floor of the Commons at the end of July, 1892.

Finally, it would be unfair to conclude a review of this work without a further reference to Mr. Paul's cleverness. It is not history, but it is amusing, and in it lies perhaps the only method of lighting up the drearier stretches of a century which has at times a tendency to become parliamentary and prosy, commonplace and unromantic. There may be another means than the injection of Mr. Bernard Shaw's methods to attract the average reader to the contemplation of essentially good and useful but essentially dull reforms, but it has not been discovered. We may not be profoundly illuminated by the description of M. Waddington (p. 238) as a man "who had been at Rugby and Cambridge, but was nevertheless a [profound] scholar", but we are tempted to read on. The serious-minded might take exception to the statement concerning the result of the 1892 general election (p. 233), that "One result of not letting Ireland govern herself was that she governed England"; but it expresses a certain amount of shrewd truth, as much perhaps as an epigram can, and whets the appetite for more, beyond mountains of blue-books and miles of statistics. The statement (p. 259) regarding the retirement of the Liberal whip, Mr. Marjoribanks, immediately after that of Mr. Gladstone, that "the crook disappeared with the shepherd", is not perhaps so felicitous, save to the exceptionally light-minded. Entertainment is not, obviously, the chief duty of the historian, but it is not inadmissible to attract men by such means to the pursuit of serious matters for their own enlightenment and the good of the state. And we

have to thank Mr. Paul for a book which, if not profound, has at least the merits of putting great matters clearly, attractively, and simply, of being at once instructive and entertaining.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Philippine Islands. By JOHN FOREMAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906. Pp. xxii, 668.)

PROBABLY no other writer on the Philippines has been so often quoted in the United States since 1898 as John Foreman. Certainly no other has so often been made sponsor for garbled versions of Philippine history and half-truths or downright inaccuracies regarding Philippines and Filipinos.

For a number of years, off and on, Mr. Foreman lived in and travelled about the Philippines in behalf of British manufacturers of machinery for tropical agriculture. Thus he naturally gained expert information about Philippine resources and some general information about the people and their government. Before bringing out his treatise, first in Hong-Kong, then in London, in 1889-1890, he apparently "read up" at random in Philippine history, relying chiefly upon Friar Concepción's tedious and not always reliable chronicles for the early history and on miscellaneous fragmentary writings for the rest—his sources are rarely indicated. With a tendency to launch suppositions as facts where data were wanting, a lack of sympathy with the Spanish viewpoint, ignorance of Spanish history and colonial administration, and prejudice against the friars in the Philippines, the book he produced was a jumble of facts and fancies, of information and misinformation. This as to its historical pretensions; the chapters on agriculture, etc., and on the author's experiences, though by no means devoid of inaccuracies, were more valuable.

Except for a translation of Jagor in 1875, no treatise on the Philippines had appeared in English since Bowring's of 1859. On the strength of the reputation earned by his book, Foreman was summoned to give information and advice to the American peace commission at Paris in 1898—advice which reads very strangely if paralleled with his contributions to periodicals in 1900 and thereafter. While discussion of the Philippine question was at its height in 1899, another edition of Foreman's book of 1890 appeared, with some new chapters giving a very fragmentary and incorrect account of the Tagalog rebellion of 1896-1898. To this account he has in the 1906 edition, under review, made various additions, with inaccuracies as numerous and as glaring as his original errors, which, moreover, for the most part remain uncorrected. There follow some two hundred new pages devoted to a review of the events of American occupation, 1898-1905, and a description of American government, in military and civil phases, and its workings.

Before taking up these new portions of the book, something should be

said, even at this late date, of Foreman's version of Philippine history under the Spanish régime. No real revision of the chapters taken from the previous edition has been made. Practically all the errors of commission and grave sins of omission still stand. Moreover, the author has given us merely a disconnected array of data with no logical correlation. He has had access to none of the contemporary sources for early Spanish-Philippine history, and, strangely for a "Philippine authority", has disregarded entirely the material for the history of the Spanish régime made available since 1898, notably the Blair and Robertson series. Perhaps the best exhibition of his utter lack of preparation is his fourth chapter. For one thing, a writer who passes sweeping judgments on Spain should know more about Spain's colonial organization and its history than does Mr. Foreman. He gives a disjointed and incomplete account of the quarrels between the Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but neither here nor in his later fragmentary discussion of the religious orders does he touch the really vital questions underlying such conflicts, above all, the episcopal visitation of friar-parishes and the secularization of the parishes. These are matters fundamental to any comprehensive grasp of Philippine history in either the earlier or the closing period of Spanish rule. There is, for example, not even a mention of Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina and his attempt to secularize the parishes about 1775; the few friar-sources from which Foreman drew chose to ignore or distort this important episode. Foreman's churlish treatment of Anda, one of the great figures of Spanish history in the Philippines, doubtless has this same origin; moreover, his anti-Spanish bias comes out most strongly in his sadly garbled version of the British occupation of Manila and Anda's resistance. Other sections especially imperfect and incomplete are those about the Filipino revolts from the seventeenth century onward, the Chinese in the Philippines, Spain's relations with the Moros, education under the old régime, and "ethnology"—save the mark; there is no more arrant nonsense in the book than the ascribing of a Japanese origin to Igorots and Tagalogs. The chapters (xiii.-xv.) on trade and commerce, revenue and fiscal matters, Spanish administration, etc., contain much useful information not readily available elsewhere in the English language; but they also contain much misinformation, and worst of all are the vital omissions. The Philippine budget of 1888 and other data as to the central and local governments were published in the 1890 edition, and no later information is here given, though changes of many sorts were made before 1898. Like all other writers who have discussed recent Philippine budgets, Foreman does not show that the figures published are only for the central government, and net, while the actual tax-burden was always from thirty-five to fifty per cent. greater.

As to the somewhat revised story of 1896-1898, its account of the "Treaty of Biak-na-bató", which has been most often quoted in support of erroneous statements in the United States, has received some addi-

tions, but its fundamental errors remain. There was no "treaty", though Aguinaldo may have believed so. It is very strange that Mr. Foreman has never seen General Primo de Rivera's *Memoria*, nor other Spanish accounts published since 1898. While in the Philippines in 1904, Mr. Foreman seems to have consulted Pedro Paterno, the "mediator" at Biak-na-bató, and to have taken him very seriously (inserting a ridiculous biography of him on pages 411-413). We are now for the first time given to understand that Mr. Foreman was an intimate of Rizal; still, he gives us an account of Rizal's career that is minus most of the significant data. There is a blunder in almost every line of the account of the siege and capture of Manila; no hint appears to have reached this author that it was virtually surrendered. Just one other illustration of his inaccuracy: he has (p. 471) Admiral Cámara's fleet going to the Philippines in November, 1898, three months after the suspension of hostilities, and in consequence of the threatened rupture between the peace negotiators at Paris!

There ought to be a place for a good review of the American occupation of the Philippines; but Mr. Foreman's new chapters certainly do not fill this gap. Like the rest of the book, the new part has scarcely a page free from important errors (not to mention vital omissions). The author has blithely gone about his task without sifting the mass of data already published, or even reading more than a few of the commoner documents, chosen apparently at random. Instead, he has relied upon miscellaneous information gathered from certain Filipinos in Europe and from Filipino and other residents of Manila, Iloilo, and Sebú during his brief visit in 1904. His informants were often badly chosen (as in the case cited above), much of what he rehearses is mere gossip, part is malicious misinformation, and everywhere one notes lacunae, often of a most startling sort. Just a few of the errors and omissions are noted, and they fittingly characterize the work: No real study is made of the organization and workings of the Malolos government, and such important matters as the contest over religious freedom gets a mere allusion (p. 469), or more commonly no mention at all; the account of Luna's assassination (pp. 500-501) has been furnished by persons ignorant of the facts or interested in distorting them; such an important episode as the "involving campaign" of November, 1899, the flight of Aguinaldo, and the end of the "Filipino Republic" is passed over entirely (!); no mention is made of the provisional civil government (1899-1901) of Negros, which accepted American sovereignty; General J. F. Bell's campaign in Batangas in 1902 is not mentioned; the author has no conception of how peace was brought about in most provinces in 1901—he dates it and the sedition act in 1902, confuses the reports of the two Philippine Commissions, and nowhere describes comprehensively the fundamental legislation of 1901 upon which the present government rests; nowhere, for example, does he tell what are the qualifications for the ballot; he does go into details about the "Bates Treaty" with the

Sultan of Sulu, but he failed to consult the text, and some of his details are wrong; he says nothing of the Pope's Philippine bull of 1902 in his review of the religious question under American government (the best discussion of all he has made under this period, 1898-1905). He has, it should be said, toned down his worst exaggerations and attacks on American rule in his contributions to British reviews in 1900 and 1904, for which he was called to account by Bishop Brent; in some respects, indeed, he is now fairer than any of the other British critics of America in the Philippines. But we are here concerned only with Foreman as a Philippine historian, and as such it is hard to say a good word for him.

The bad arrangement and lack of revision involves much duplication, which the index but poorly remedies. The orthography is sometimes freakish, and Spanish terms are sometimes mistranslated. The statistical tables are very inaccurate in places; the chronological table also, as well as incomplete. The accompanying map is reproduced from a poor and out-of-date Spanish map.

JAMES A. LEROY.

Skalpicren und ähnliche Kriegsgebräuche in Amerika. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig, vorgelegt von GEORG FRIEDERICI. (Braunschweig: Druck von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn. 1906. Pp. 172.)

THIS is one of the most important ethnologic monographs that has appeared in a long time. The author is a young officer in the German army and former attaché of the legation in Washington who, after having already published several shorter Indian studies, presents this as his doctor's thesis for a degree at Leipzig.

The word "scalp" he derives from an old German word akin in form and meaning to "shell". The earliest, and almost the only, notice of the custom in the Old World is that given by Herodotus in connection with the Skythians. The earliest definite notice in America is by Cartier, who in 1535, on the St. Lawrence, was shown five scalps dried and stretched upon hoops. In the same region in 1603 Champlain witnessed a scalp-dance in which fresh scalps were carried by the women as they danced. Other pioneer discoverers found the custom in Florida and Virginia.

Contrary to the general impression, our author claims, and proves by authorities and deduction, that the practice of scalping was originally confined to a comparatively limited area in the eastern United States and Canada, extending from Newfoundland to the Gulf and lower Mississippi, and roughly equivalent to the territory held by the Iroquoian and Muskogean tribes and their immediate neighbors. It did not exist in southern New England, Long Island, or New Jersey, or anywhere beyond the St. Lawrence divide, Lake Erie, and the lower Mississippi until after the coming of the whites. Even in the great plains it is of comparatively recent extension, while along the whole

Pacific coast, in the Canadian northwest and Arctic region, and everywhere below the Mexican border, it is still unknown except sporadically and by special introduction. Its rapid extension within the settlement period he ascribes to the encouragement given by the colonial governments in offering scalp premiums and to the opportunity afforded by the introduction of firearms and steel knives. The earlier trophy was the head, for which the more portable scalp was substituted, a part for the whole, as the warriors became accustomed to more distant raidings under the instigation and leadership of their white allies. In 1636 the Puritans paid for Pequot heads, but in King Philip's War, forty years later, we hear of scalping, and from that period the scalp market steadily rose until in 1722 the price was a hundred pounds apiece in Massachusetts. French Canada and Louisiana, colonial Carolina and Pennsylvania, as well as New England, the northern Mexican states in 1835-1845, and even Idaho forty years ago, all paid definite prices for scalps of men, women, and children.

A chapter is devoted to other trophies of similar gruesome character, ears, hands, bones, the skull temples of the Aztecs, the smoked heads of the Amazon, and the horrible human drums of the Incas. The trophy was most elaborated in the warmer regions where leisure was most abundant.

The thirty-three pages of classified bibliography might almost cover the whole Indian subject, and the accompanying map shows clearly the area of each method noted, in both its original and its secondary extension.

JAMES MOONEY.

The Constitutional History of New York from the Beginning of the Colonial Period to the Year 1905, showing the Origin, Development, and Judicial Construction of the Constitution. By CHARLES Z. LINCOLN. In five volumes. (Rochester, N. Y.: The Lawyers' Co-operative Publishing Company. 1906. Pp. xxx, 756; xvii, 725; xviii, 757; xxvi, 800; 551.)

A BOOK on this subject was greatly needed; and the author's example should be followed by citizens of other commonwealths. That a knowledge of the history of the constitution of his own state is indispensable to every lawyer and statesman who works on broad lines is easy of comprehension. No provision of a statute or of a fundamental law can be construed without a consideration of the conditions that preceded the same, the circumstances that brought it into existence, and the result that it was enacted to accomplish; of the old law, the mischief, and the remedy. No new remedy can be intelligently applied without a knowledge of the history of the evil and of the previous attempts to cure it. The value of such studies to students of sociology and of the history of institutions is now beginning to be appreciated. The great need of a collection of the constitutional precedents in the

states to the successful administration of our national government is not yet generally understood. Yet many questions that have been decided at the state capitals must again arise at Washington; and an opinion thereupon by a state court or an unbroken line of state legislative or executive precedents will frequently be more logical and in closer harmony with the spirit of the Constitution, than a decision when it first arises in a high condition of party spirit at Washington. But many such precedents have never been published, or are reported only in the newspapers of the day; Congressional and state libraries have not done their duty in collecting them; and the searcher for them must dive blindly into a mass of biographies, state histories, annuals, files of newspapers, official documents, and manuscript records with too often no clue to aid him. Until the constitutional history of all the states is written, the Constitution of the Union cannot be adequately understood.

The writer has advantages rare in a historian. He has studied his subject for his own practical use, and he has himself played a part in some of the events that he describes. He was a member of the last constitutional convention. He practised law for twenty years under the previous constitution. For six years he was chairman of the commission appointed to revise the state codes and statutes, and the official adviser upon constitutional questions of three successive governors, Morton, Black, and Roosevelt; and has therefore been enabled to enrich the book by valuable new matter concerning the recall of bills by the legislative houses after their passage, the action of the state executive in the approval and the disapproval of bills, the exercise of the active veto and the pocket veto. His practical experience, however, has not, as too often happens, blunted his zeal and capacity for research into matters which most men of affairs consider of importance only to the antiquarian. The colonial history of the subject is well told and has been thoroughly investigated. Many unprinted manuscripts, including Governor Jay's correspondence, the records of the executive council of the colony, and a number of other documents in the State Library and the rooms occupied by the state officers, have been examined by him. The commission and instructions given Governor Tryon by George III., a copy of the latter having been procured from England, are printed for the first time; and so are the original and the revised draft of the constitution of 1777, the first adopted in the state.

The author has thus produced an interesting and valuable work. The narrative is clear and, even when it describes the party conflicts in which he was actively engaged, is apparently impartial. Expressions of his own opinion on questions of law and conduct are rare and usually sound. There are few accessible authorities which have not been examined and digested.

The work is in five volumes. Although long, it contains little matter that might usefully have been omitted. The first volume, after an introduction summarizing the whole subject, sets forth in full a translation

of Magna Carta, the colonial Charter of Liberties and Privileges, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, and the four state constitutions with their amendments up to 1904. These are followed by a detailed constitutional history of the colony and a description of the state constitutions of 1777 and 1821. Volume II. describes the convention and constitution of 1846, the convention of 1867, the commissions of 1872 and 1890, and the amendments from 1822 to 1894; the third volume, the convention and constitution of 1894 with the subsequent amendments, including those adopted in 1905. These three volumes contain also much valuable information as to legislation and bills affecting cognate subjects. But they cite very few decisions of the courts. These are described in volume IV., which is devoted to the constitution as now in force, including the amendments of 1905, with notes of the decisions and commentaries upon certain provisions. The fifth and last consists of tables of statutes which the courts have held to be constitutional, and of such as courts have held to be repugnant to the constitution, separately arranged, chronologically and by topics; a table of the cases cited; an index of persons; and a general index.

In a review of a work for which the profession and scholars are so much indebted, it seems ungracious to dwell upon its few defects. But the following suggestions may perhaps aid in the preparation of the next edition. The absence of cross-references to earlier and later pages imposes much needless labor. Except in the case of law reports and session laws, there are hardly any citations of the original authorities, not even of the pages of the convention reports, from which quotations are made. This faulty practice has increased of late among small historians. It always tends to cast a reflection upon the accuracy of an author, and to impair the weight of his book as an authority. The translation of Magna Carta, the Federal Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, and some of the speeches at the convention of 1894 are superfluous. There is no reason why more space should be given to that convention than to the more important one which framed the constitution of 1846. There is no explanation of the reasons for the refusal by the people to ratify the constitution proposed in 1867. It would have been beneficial to insert references to the constitutions of other states from which some provisions were copied in New York; and to those that have copied many parts of the New York constitution.

It is surprising that, although there is a short account of the codification of the state laws, and a reference to the subsequent statutory revision, the early *Revised Statutes* of 1830 are only mentioned as an incident in the life of Henry Wheaton, with no description nor even a reference to the important changes made by them in the law of real estate and trusts; that David Dudley Field, the father of American codification, is not named; and that the fusion of law and equity, first made by him in New York and copied from his bills almost everywhere that the common law prevails, is not described.

The author expresses his belief that it would be well if the legislature were empowered to require the opinion of the court of appeals upon the validity of pending bills. And he considers that opinions thus obtained would be binding in later litigation (I. 747), a very doubtful proposition. The experience of other states does not recommend such a constitutional provision. And such opinions, where necessarily the courts are without the aid of argument by counsel interested upon both sides of the question, are rarely as sound as those made in the usual course of litigation. The opinions of the supreme courts of South Dakota and Colorado (*Re Constitutional Provision*, 3 S. D. 548, 54 N. W. Rep. 650; *Re Chapter 6 Session Laws of 1890*, 8 S. D. 274, 66 N. W. 310; *In re Irrigation Resolution*, 9 Col. 620, 21 Pac. Rep. 478) may be upon this point profitably consulted. In 1872 Governor Hoffman asked the chief judge and judges of the court of appeals to express their opinion on the constitutionality of a bill then before him. Chief Judge Church and his associates promptly replied with an opinion worthy of Jack Bunsby, stating that they all agreed that "serious questions might arise upon the bill in its present form" as to such points. The bill was thereupon vetoed by the governor (*Public Papers of John T. Hoffman, 1869-1872*, pp. 336-339). It does not seem that the court strengthened its hold upon the public confidence by giving this extra-judicial opinion. In 1890, when Governor Hill suggested to the Republican legislature a "joint submission of the constitutional questions involved" (in controversy over a certain bill) "to the consideration of the Court of Appeals" (*Public Papers of David B. Hill, 1890*, pp. 75, 79), the two houses did not accept this suggestion, and the bill was vetoed.

Although some of the complaints against the old Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Correction of Errors are quoted, there is no reference to any of its decisions that were plainly based upon political affiliations (*Franklin v. Osgood*, 14 Johnson 327; *Woodworth v. Bank of America*, 19 Johnson 391; Hammond's *Political History*, I. 492, 547). Judge Potter's attachment against a member of the assembly and the subsequent proceedings of that house are fully described. There is no mention, however, of the injunction issued by the late Jacob A. Clute, when County Judge of Albany, at the suit of John McCarthy, forbidding the clerk of the senate from performing certain acts relative to the roll. The reports of the judiciary committee of the senate upon the case contain interesting material concerning the power of the lieutenant-governor as president of the senate, the authority of that house to punish for contempt, and the freedom of the senate from interference by the courts (*Sen. Doc. 1894*, Nos. 71, 72). There is no account of the litigation by the state to recover the money misappropriated by the Tweed Ring from the treasury of the city and county of New York (*People v. Ingersoll*, 58 N. Y. 1; *People v. Fields*, 58 N. Y. 491; *People v. Tweed*, 63 N. Y. 202). The descriptions of the impeachments and proceedings for the removal of judges and other public officers contain

no adequate abstract of the trials nor even of the charges made. The history of the law authorizing actions for injuries causing death would have been better had it contained a citation of the English decisions holding that no such action could be maintained at common law, with an abstract of the technical reasoning upon which they were supported. The notes upon the section of the constitution disqualifying members of the legislature from election to the position of United States senator fail to cite the case of Lyman Trumbull, where the Senate of the United States held that a law of the state of Illinois, which disqualified certain persons from eligibility to that house, should not be followed (*Senate Election Cases, 1789-1903*, 58 Cong., Spec. Sess., Sen. Doc. 11, p. 232).

No reference is made to the action of the legislature in 1799 in reference to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, when it was resolved by each house "that they deemed it a duty explicitly to declare their incompetency as a branch of the legislature of this State, to super-vise the acts of the general government."

The decisions upon the power of the legislature over local officers are not analyzed nor explained sufficiently to make the book of much use to a person interested upon this question, which is constantly arising. There is no reference to an article upon this point in the *Albany Law Journal* for 1894 (vol. 50, pp. 349-359); nor, so far as the present writer can discover, to any article in any periodical upon any subject. And there are many upon points affecting the New York constitution. The controversy over the Metropolitan Police act, giving the governor power to appoint the police in New York City and some adjoining counties, is not mentioned; nor the fact that the decision which by a divided court upheld that law (*People ex rel. Wood v. Draper*, 15 N. Y. 532) has been severely criticized (*e. g.*, *Bolton v. Alberson*, 65 N. Y. 50, 54).

There is no description of the causes and author of the amendments to Article III., sec. 18, subdivision 15, recommended by the convention of 1867 and the commission of 1872, adopted in 1874; which forbids the construction of a street railroad without the consent of local authorities and that of one-half the frontagers, or, in case of the refusal of the latter, the consent of the Appellate Division, formerly the General Term, of the Supreme Court. There is no account of the legislation, and a very inadequate citation of the decisions upon this important section which affects so many million dollars of investments.

The collection of authorities on what constitutes a private or local bill is insufficient. It omits *Matter of Church*, 92 N. Y. 1, and *People ex rel. N. Y. Electric Lines Co. v. Squire*, 107 N. Y. 593, in which the court of appeals nullified the constitutional inhibition of passing local bills in certain cases; although those decisions are cited upon other points.

The author should not perhaps be criticized for his exercise of the usual law-book writer's license in citing in his notes *obiter dicta* as decisions. Attention should however be called to the erroneous state-

ment twice repeated (IV. 35, 695), that the court of appeals has held that the legislature cannot compel a municipality to pay laborers whom it employs the rate of wages prevailing in the locality. The case cited, *People ex rel. Rodgers v. Coler* (166 N. Y. 1), merely holds that the legislature cannot compel such payment by contractors for public work. The language, in the opinion of Judge O'Brien, upon which the author relies, was not essential to the decision. And that such payment by a city can be compelled by statute was affirmed by a majority of that court in the later case of *Ryan v. New York* (177 N. Y. 71).

There is no reference to the importance of the novel doctrine laid down in *re Jacobs* (98 N. Y. 98), and since followed; nor any discussions of the decisions, which are merely noted. In fact the treatment of the decisions of the courts seems perfunctory rather than philosophical. This is the least satisfactory part of the book, but notwithstanding contains much that will be of use to the practitioner.

Most of these, however, are minor blemishes, which can easily be corrected. The book is indispensable to all constitutional lawyers, legislators, and statesmen in New York. It will be interesting and useful to every lawyer and man in public life in every part of the United States and to all students of constitutional history and sociology throughout the world. It will be the standard authority upon the subject for at least a generation.

ROGER FOSTER.

The Story of Old Fort Johnson. By W. MAX REID. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xii, 240.)

THE most famous historic house in the Mohawk Valley to-day is probably old Fort Johnson, situated a few miles west of the site of Amsterdam. Not only has this old colonial "mansion" with its surrounding hills and valleys a local interest, but, through the prominence and significant influence of the original owner and his family, the history of the building appeals to a wide circle of readers and students. Persons interested in the preservation and proper care of the relics of our past will rejoice that this historic building has been placed in the hands of the Montgomery County Historical Society. For about a half-century the house was in the possession of the Akin family, but in 1905, in order to settle the family estate, the property had to be sold. Through the munificence of Major-general J. Watts de Peyster, a grandnephew of Lady Johnson, the wife of Sir John, the building was presented to the society. It will become the museum of the society and will house, among other objects, the interesting Richmond collection of Indian relics.

It is unfortunate that better advantage has not been taken of the opportunity to write a good local history on the subject. *The Story of Old Fort Johnson* is an interesting, rambling tale; it is a mixture of history, fiction, ethnology, and gossip. One does not expect scientific

history from the author of *The Mohawk Valley*, and therefore this "companion book to *The Mohawk Valley*" is not a disappointment. The book is apparently not constructed upon any particular plan; although the title suggests an account of the history of an old frontier homestead, the author wanders far afield in many of the chapters—in one chapter as far west as Detroit. The topics treated in the volume are thrown together in a bewildering fashion, and the task of the reviewer, therefore, in following out the instructions of the REVIEW to give a brief outline of the contents of the book is difficult.

The opening chapter gives a very graphic description of the parting between young William Johnson and his Irish sweetheart. We see young William "striding along a country highway leading to the port town of Drogheda"; we see "the drooping form of a comely girl leaning on a stile constructed in a break in the hawthorne hedge which formed a border to the road he was travelling"; we hear the affectionate parting kisses. Fiction swamps history in the account but it is interesting reading. The succeeding three chapters deal with the life of Johnson and the history of the events with which he was connected. Chapter five is an odd combination of remarks on the character of Judas Iscariot and scrappy information about John Johnson. For several successive chapters we now make strenuous efforts to follow the thread of Revolutionary history in the Mohawk Valley. Chapter seven contains the journal of one William Colbraith, a soldier of Colonel Gansevoort's regiment stationed in Fort Schuyler during the siege. One entire chapter is given to a verbatim quotation of the will of Sir William. The concluding chapter of the volume contains an account of a summer ramble of the author and a couple of friends to Dadanascara.

C. H. RAMMELKAMP.

Alexander Hamilton: an Essay on American Union. By FREDERICK SCOTT OLIVER. (London: A. Constable and Company; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xiii, 502.)

IN this book we have an attempt to write an essay on American political life at a time of its most important crisis the central figure and consideration of which shall be the career of Alexander Hamilton. The result is that we get neither a sketch of Hamilton's activity in a properly digested narrative nor a systematic discussion of the American Union in the days of its infancy. The plan is somewhat disjointed; and no more unifying fact appears than a rather inflexible admiration for the subject of the book. It is natural for an Englishman who writes about the controversy between the French and British factions of American society in the days of Hamilton to have his sympathy enlisted for the British party. It is also natural for him to admire Hamilton. But he ought to have enough discrimination to see the point of view of the other side and to recognize that his own favorite had some shortcomings. Neither of these things has Mr. Oliver done. Not only are the Democrats

anathematized, but even the Federalists who did not support Hamilton's peculiar plans are put without the domain of his approval.

As to the Democratic party, it is enough to say that it is declared that "It had its origin in the intrigues of which Horatio Gates was the hero" (p. 270). This point is supported by several arguments from John C. Hamilton's *History*. Little credit is given to the matters of financial and administrative opinion on which the early Republicans differed so radically from the followers of Hamilton.

Proceeding from the Conway Cabal, the beginning of the States' Rights party, the author comes to the influence of Jefferson. He says, "Jefferson accordingly found a States Rights party ready made when, outraged by the rivalry of Hamilton and offended by the rejection of his own advice in the matter of the National Bank, he determined to undertake the organization of an opposition to the government of which he was a member." It will hardly meet the approval of American students of history, it would not have met the approval of Hamilton himself, to attribute Jefferson's actions to motives of personal spite. Mr. Oliver seems not to know that with the First Congress there came a new alignment of parties, that the Federalists of 1790 were not the same as those of 1787-1789, that antifederalism in its proper sense disappeared with the disposition of the amendments of the Constitution, and that the theory of states' rights was but a small factor in political life from 1790 to the days of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. A Republican of 1792 would probably have said that the "paramount issue" was opposition to the moneyed classes; in 1794 he would have said that it was our honorable obligations to France; and in 1795 the shameless surrender to Great Britain involved in the Jay Treaty. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Jay Treaty, which was so bad in its details that even Hamilton was disgusted at it, is passed over by Mr. Oliver in three paragraphs which together contain but forty-two lines, in which the creation of the mission, its departure, its reception in England, its return to America, the adoption of the treaty, and its reception by the people are all treated. In no way do we have a statement of the contents of that instrument.

Another illustration of the author's method is to be seen in his treatment of John Adams's relations with Hamilton. Strangely enough it is Adams's quarrel with Hamilton, and not, as usually depicted, Hamilton's attack on Adams. In the matter of the appointment of Hamilton as a major-general the author shuts his eyes resolutely to his hero's unusual scheming for the first position and attacks Adams for thus making "the first of a series of great blunders . . . during his term of office under the influence of uncontrollable rage" (p. 394). Adams's second blunder is pronounced his undignified procedure in making peace with France in 1799. "It is beyond doubt", says the author, "that he caught at peace in order to prevent Hamilton from obtaining credit" (p. 395). The third mistake of Adams is thus described: "Adams, seeing everything red, and

unable to tolerate the respect entertained for Washington and Hamilton by M'Henry, Pickering, and Wolcott, dismissed these gentlemen from his cabinet on the very eve of the presidential election" (p. 396). Hamilton's relations with Miranda are not discussed, although we are assured that he had no "ambitions of a Napoleonic career". The discussion of the pamphlet which Hamilton issued in 1800 against Adams is presented in such a confused manner that it is impossible to say whether the author justifies or condemns the action of his subject in the matter (p. 402). We are undoubtedly told that it was a blunder, but we are also told that in doing it Hamilton was justified by the action of Adams toward him, and that his own action was not due to "any desire to wipe out old scores" (p. 402). And yet the author must have known when he wrote that Hamilton on May 10, 1800, said of Adams that he would never again be responsible for Adams's actions, "even though the consequences should be the election of Jefferson".

The statements pointed out are but typical of the spirit in which the book is written. It is a good echo of John C. Hamilton's large work and a worthy companion of Percy Greg's *History of the United States*.

What has been said is not to be understood as meaning that the book does not contain many acceptable statements of facts in Hamilton's life. The style is usually good, although it is not always very clear. There is no lack of striking phrases and characterizations. But in every important matter which has aroused controversy there is a singular lack of the critical spirit. The foot-notes indicate a narrow range of investigation and too close a following of the pro-Hamiltonian sources of information.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Election of Senators. By GEORGE H. HAYNES, Ph.D. [American Public Problems, edited by RALPH CURTIS RINGWALT.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 295.)

THIS volume, the second in a series entitled "American Public Problems", is a veritable mine of information in regard to the origin and practical workings of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the election of Federal senators. It contains also a complete résumé of the movement of recent years for the popular control over the choice of senators, together with a comprehensive and impartial presentation of the arguments on both sides of this practical question. The timeliness of this discussion is apparent in view of the fact that within the past fifteen years thirty-one states—more than the two-thirds required by the Constitution—have made formal application to Congress for the submission of an amendment to secure the election of senators by the direct vote of the people. Moreover an Interstate Convention has been called by the Iowa Legislature to meet at Des Moines, December 5, 1906, for the sole purpose of furthering this same object. At least twenty-eight states have signified their intention to participate in its deliberations. Its conclusions will be a matter of public record before the publication of this review.

The author is thoroughly impressed with the importance of his subject, owing to the position which the Senate has secured in our system as "the dominant branch of Congress, the controlling influence in the government". "Whether the Senate be regarded as the sheet anchor of the republic in the troubled seas of democracy, or as the stronghold of corporate interests—as the country's only safeguard, or as its chief menace—the question becomes one of paramount importance: how do men come to their membership in this overpowering body?" To the answer of this question Dr. Haynes devotes the first portion of his volume. After presenting the considerations which led "the fathers" to place the election in the control of the state legislatures, and giving an account of the act of 1866 for the regulation of senatorial elections, he reviews the unsatisfactory results of the system, the most obvious of which has been the serious deadlocks in at least one-half of the states within the past fifteen years.

"The personnel" of the Senate during five recent Congresses is subjected to a searching analysis. With the assistance of five "close observers" Dr. Haynes attempts an interesting classification of the senators. As a result of this examination only seventeen fall within the class notable for their "statesmanship", while "one senator out of every three owes his election to his personal wealth, to his being the candidate satisfactory to . . . the 'System,' or to his expertness in political manipulation". These conclusions simply confirm the current belief that there has been a general decline during the last half-century in the ability, fidelity, integrity, and independence of the members of the Upper House. Owing to the dissatisfaction with both the method of election and the resulting choice of men, the past two decades have witnessed a significant movement for the popular control of senatorial elections. Chapters v. and vi. show that this movement found expression in two ways, either through "a loose construction of the present law, or in accordance with a constitutional amendment" (p. viii). The first method, that of consulting the people in advance of the election by the legislature, has been adopted so fully that in almost one-third of the states it amounts to an unwritten amendment, as the election of senators has in effect ceased to be indirect. This has been accomplished by several methods, through the party convention nominating the candidate, by the direct primary system, and by ballot at the regular state elections. The rapid extension of the primary system to other states would make it possible for this system to become general.

The inherent weakness of this method of control both in theory and in the light of experience has strengthened the demand for a Constitutional amendment. Five times between 1893 and 1902 has such a proposition received the approval of the House of Representatives, only to encounter the seemingly insurmountable objection of the Senate. In the face of this obstruction there has been, since 1899, a significant movement on the part of the state legislatures to demand the calling

of a national constitutional convention to prepare the amendment; no less than twenty states having made application to Congress. If, as a result of the Interstate Convention at Des Moines previously referred to, the necessary two-thirds majority of the state legislatures shall be secured—as now seems probable—what will follow? Will the Senate still attempt to block the way, or will it permit recourse to the hitherto untried method of proposing amendments? Will it raise technical objections of procedure? For example, what are the time limits within which the application of two-thirds of the states must be received to make the calling of the convention obligatory? This is not discussed by Dr. Haynes, but it was under consideration by the Senate Committee on Elections in 1902. Some of the members held that the memorials must be passed during the life of the Congress to which they were addressed. By others it was urged that the applications needed only to be reasonably contemporaneous. The uncertainty of this point as well as other questions of interpretation that have arisen in the past suggests the desirability of regulating by law the whole matter of procedure under the provisions of Article V.

What are the advantages of the proposed change? After a full and sympathetic marshalling of the arguments for and against, the author attempts to forecast the probable effectiveness of popular election. He believes that it would improve the character of the Senate, although this belief does not amount to a conviction; "it is best," he warns us (p. 267), "not to entertain too optimistic anticipations." "The lowering of the tone in the Senate" cannot "be attributed solely to the method of election . . . but to general influences which have lowered and commercialized American politics" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, he believes that "the decisive advantages of the change . . . would be found in its effects . . . upon the individual States" (pp. 268-269).

This work may be commended as a scholarly, impartial, and rational discussion of a great national problem.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States From the Revolutionary War to 1861. By FRANK GEORGE FRANKLIN, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science in the University of the Pacific. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1906. Pp. ix, 308.)

SINCE 1861 there have been about a dozen laws passed on the subject of naturalization, beginning with the act of July 17, 1862, which permitted the naturalization of honorably discharged soldiers after a residence in the United States of one year, and ending with the momentous act of June 29, 1906, which for the first time put supervision of naturalization in the hands of the federal government. Mr. Franklin's book was written before this act was passed, but it ought to have been brought up to date. The interesting chapter on "Expatriation", for

example, would have been rendered complete by the addition of a few pages giving the history of the important law of July 17, 1868, which declared expatriation to be the natural right of all men; so would the chapters on "Native Americanism" and "The Know-Nothing Period" have been more satisfying if they had included a brief account of the "A. P. A." movement. This is a legislative history of naturalization in the United States; and an account of the legislation of the several states from their independence to the time of the passing of the first federal naturalization law might appropriately have found a place in it. There were such laws in Delaware, Maryland, New York, South Carolina, and Virginia, the Virginia law of 1783 being the parent law of our naturalization system.

These remarks are prompted by an appreciation of the value of Mr. Franklin's book, and a regret that it does not cover completely a subject which it covers so well partially. There is no other book, however, which covers the subject at all.

The first chapter deals with the Revolutionary period, and shows the oath of allegiance, and of express renunciation of allegiance to George the Third, required by the Continental Congress in 1776 of all military and civil officers of the government. During this period frequent efforts were made to detach foreigners serving in the British army by offering them land and American citizenship; and a considerable number availed themselves of the opportunity and settled permanently in the United States. After the war a remarkable suggestion was made, that subjects of Great Britain should have the same rights as Americans in America and Americans the same rights as Englishmen in Great Britain. John Adams reported that the proposition was going to be made, and Lord Loughborough certainly made it in 1794. It was brought up again in 1817 by John Quincy Adams, and of recent years by Professor Dicey in a lecture at All Souls College, when the Olney arbitration treaty was under discussion. Passing to the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Mr. Franklin traces the debate on the subject of naturalization, and then treats the acts of Congress from 1790 to 1824, the latter being the law which was in effect until September 27 of the present year.

The chapter on "Expatriation" shows that Jefferson claimed the right as a natural one from the beginning, but that efforts to secure legislation on the subject which were made from time to time were all unavailing. It may be added that to this day there is no law saying how an American citizen may accomplish expatriation. Chapters on "The Beginnings of Native Americanism", "The Period of Aggressive Native Americanism", and "The Know-Nothing Period" close what is a valuable historical study which will surely pass into general use.

There are several notable omissions in the bibliography given by Mr. Franklin. Hunt's work, *The American Passport*, is in the list, but it contains little of importance to a work like this, whereas Wharton's

Digest of the International Law of the United States contains much and Moore's *International Arbitrations* still more, and these works are not cited. Prentiss Webster's works on *Citizenship* and *Naturalization* are here, but Alexander P. Morse's *Treatise on Citizenship and Naturalization* (Boston, 1881) and Van Dyne's *Citizenship of the United States* (Rochester, 1904) are not, and they are works of far greater weight than Webster's. There is no mention of the great report on naturalization and allegiance made by the British Commission of 1868. It can be found, among other places, in *Opinions of the Principal Officers of the Executive Departments and Other Papers relating to Expatriation, Naturalization, and Change of Allegiance* (Government Printing Office, 1873), and in the same volume are the notable letters of President Grant's Cabinet officers, which are also omitted from this bibliography. It ought to include also Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's treatise on *Nationality*, which was written because of the British Commission's report.

GAILLARD HUNT.

The Purchase of Florida: its History and Diplomacy. By HUBERT BRUCE FULLER, A.M., LL.M. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1906. Pp. 399.)

THIS is a disappointing book. For the most part, the story of the complicated transactions that led up to the Florida Treaty is entirely familiar, but it is to be found only in scattered chapters of the history of the first forty years of our national life. A complete, coherent, and continuous narrative of the events on both sides of the Atlantic which resulted on the one hand in the surrender by Spain of her most cherished colonial policy, and on the other in rounding out the territory of the United States and extending it to the Pacific, would be a most interesting and useful work. It might be much more; but so much at least the student who takes up this handsome and portly volume has a reasonable right to expect. He will not, however, discover in its pages much that is new, nor will he find what is old rearranged in a particularly attractive form.

Mr. Fuller has failed to give us a clear account of the unusually intricate transactions with which his book must deal, and this failure is chiefly owing to his sins of omission. There is so much to set down, and the sources of information are so numerous, that the most practised skill would be needed to marshal all the relevant facts. Mr. Fuller has left large and fatal gaps in his narrative, and the result is disastrous.

As an example of his method, the case of the Texas boundary may be mentioned. The final negotiations between Adams and de Onís were almost solely concerned with this subject. For months they contended over the question whether the Rio Grande, the Colorado, the Sabine, or some more easterly line should be adopted as the western boundary of the United States. For months they went over the well-

worn history of La Salle and the facts of the successive Spanish *entradas*. When they had agreed upon the line of the Sabine, the one criticism on the treaty in the United States was based on the supposed surrender of Texas. Clay's attack rested upon no other ground than the assertion that Texas was a part of the Louisiana purchase; that Congress alone had authority to alienate territory; and that Texas had been alienated without adequate consideration. Without an understanding of the nature of the claim asserted by the American government to the ownership of Texas, it is not possible to comprehend what it was that Adams and de Onís spent so much time in discussing, or what was the point of Clay's criticism; and yet Mr. Fuller gives no hint of the real nature of that controversy.

Even more serious is the very imperfect manner in which contemporary events in Europe and South America are treated. Surely the most essential feature of any history of the Florida purchase must be an inquiry into the motives which induced the Spanish government in 1795, in 1800, and finally in 1819 to surrender her claims to sovereignty over the greater part of the present territory of the United States. These motives can be understood only by examining her relations to the contending parties in the European wars from 1793 to 1815, the reactionary policies which prevailed during the period immediately after the abdication of Napoleon, and the internal dissensions which so profoundly affected Spanish history after 1808. Nor can the influence of the varying fortunes of the South American and Mexican revolutions be lost sight of. But Mr. Fuller has not thought it worth while to trace in detail the close connection between affairs in Europe and the protracted negotiations for the treaty. He hardly glances at the very important share of Hyde de Neuville and Poletica in framing the final agreement and securing its ratification, and he gives no explanation of the reasons why France and Russia were so much concerned in the result. He refers to no original sources except American archives, letters, diaries, and newspapers. His bibliography does not even mention any work on European history.

The book begins with an account of the early relations of Spain and the United States in which so important an event as the capture of Pensacola by Galvez is not even mentioned. The closing of the Mississippi, its opening by the treaty of 1795, and the purchase of Louisiana are next dealt with. The author is very severe on the American government for concluding the purchase in the face of the Spanish protests; but his strictures fail to carry conviction when we recall that he omits to state all the facts. For example, he quotes Casa d'Yrujo as protesting that France had agreed not to alienate Louisiana; but he fails to note that this promise was made in July, 1802, or nearly two years after the cession of October, 1800. The breach of such a promise might well give rise to just complaints by Spain against France; but neither in law nor in morals did it require the United States to repudiate the bargain it had made with the latter power.

The discussions as to West Florida, the events of the War of 1812, and Jackson's exploits in 1818 are fully treated. Here the author is more at home, and these chapters are distinctly the best in the book, although there is a marked want of sympathy with the prejudices of the Americans of that day. Their dislike for the Spaniards was not due merely to the Mississippi incident. It was a tradition inherited since the time of Elizabeth from their English ancestors, and it was fostered by the accounts of the inhuman cruelty with which the South American wars were carried on. Jackson's hatred of "the Dons" was no personal peculiarity. It was the embodiment of a very wide-spread popular feeling, of which the impartial historian must take note.

The tedious negotiations during Monroe's presidency are then narrated at length, and the book ends with some very damaging reflections upon the conduct of the public men of the United States. There is no discrimination as to parties. Fisher Ames and Hamilton are condemned equally with Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Livingston, Pinckney, and Jackson. The author spares no epithets. The Florida Act of 1811 was "a bold defiance of the law of nations and individuals" (p. 326); the seizure of Amelia Island was a gross artifice, a shallow deception, "a proceeding particularly disgraceful" (p. 327). The recognition of the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies was an act of "singular bad faith" (p. 329). The spoliation claims against Spain are harshly criticized; but no reference is made to the singularly careful inquiry into their validity and amount, made by the commission under the eleventh article of the Florida Treaty, where the awards were largely in excess of the \$5,000,000 stipulated to be paid.

The book has an ample index and two maps. The first of these exhibits the line proposed in 1782 as the western boundary of the United States; the second traces Jackson's line of march in Florida. If the latter map had been on a larger scale and had not extended so far north as to take in Milwaukee and Poughkeepsie, nor so far west as the Rocky Mountains, it would have been more convenient.

In an appendix are printed the full text of the treaties of 1795 and 1819, the instructions to Monroe of July 29, 1803, in regard to a cession of the Floridas, and Adams's instructions of November 28, 1818, defending Jackson's proceedings in Florida. Why these well-known and very accessible documents should have been reprinted here is not explained by anything in the preface or the body of the book.

Mexico: its Social Evolution. By a Board of Editors, under the Directorship of JUSTO SIERRA. Translated into English by G. SENTIÑÓN. (Mexico City: J. Balleascá y Compañía, Sucesor. 1900, 1904. Two folio volumes in three. Pp. 415, iv; 417-778, i; 444.)

THE above is the title of the English edition, brought out in translation the past year, of a work whose original is in Spanish, but which has

also been published in its completed form in French as well as in English. The original publication in Spanish was by installments, and though bearing date of 1900, its last *entrega* was not finished and its bound volumes did not appear till 1905. The work was designed to commemorate, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the progress achieved by Mexico in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and its collaborators are men of politics or science who have been actively identified with this social and governmental progress, under the direction of Don Justo Sierra, formerly an under-secretary, now a minister of the Diaz cabinet, as head of the new Department of Education and Fine Arts.

The subtitle sets forth the ambitious and comprehensive character of the work: "Synthesis of the political history, administration, military organisation and economical state of the Mexican Confederation, its advancements in the intellectual sphere, its territorial structure, growth of its population, means of communication both national and international, its achievements in the fields of industry, agriculture, mining, commerce, etc., etc." This implies a survey in each of these lines reaching back over the colonial period, and, so far as data are afforded, into the prehistoric period. As in all such works of collaboration, considerable duplication is unavoidable, but each subject is thus treated from its own point of view.

Practically all this work is historical in its scope, even where science, education, literature, trade and commerce, agriculture, etc., are treated, because of the method adopted of making a historical survey under each heading. The first volume of Tomo I, however, is largely occupied with what is called the "Political History" of Mexico. The section upon "Aboriginal Civilisations" is naturally more a scientific survey than political history proper. The colonial period and wars of independence are treated under one heading, and "The Republic" is a subject-heading whereunder the periods are treated as follows: (a) Anarchy, 1825-1848, (b) The Reform, 1848-1867. These classifications of recent Mexican history are necessarily somewhat arbitrary, and, as will occur to one noting the dates, the events prior to, during, and since the French intervention are naturally interpreted from the viewpoint of Mexican Liberalism. However, it is noteworthy that the day of rancorous partizan spirit has in large degree passed in Mexico, and the progressive Liberal historian of to-day is, if not ideally impartial in his interpretation of his country's history, at any rate not spiteful in his characterization of persons or measures of the old-time "opposition".

Finally, "The Present Era" is reviewed, in its political history, at the very end of the work, thus completing this survey to 1900. Necessarily, however, the other portions of the work (the army, science, education, literature, municipal organization and government, penal and charitable institutions, fundamental law and procedure, agriculture, mining, industry, trade, communications and public works, and finances) deal very largely with the accomplishments of the Diaz régime. And if

the pen is eulogistic, as comparisons are drawn with the colonial régime or more still with the revolutionary days, who can fairly object? These other volumes have much material of value upon the social and economic life of Mexico for the student of that country's history.

The volumes are magnificently produced, with a profusion of half-tones and many full-page color-plates, printed excellently, bound splendidly, and are really *de luxe* in every way.

War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, 1861-1865. By WILLIAM B. WEEDEN. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxv, 389.)

THIS volume, by the author of *The Economic and Social History of New England*, presents in rather suggestive fashion an account of "the interplay of the National Union and the State commonwealths, which were principalities in the Civil War" (p. ix). The book is evidently the result of extended and long-continued reading. The author has made much use of the *Official Records* published by the federal government, has consulted the manuscript archives of the state of Massachusetts on many points, and in at least one instance (for Governor Seymour's inaugural message, 1863) he has gone to the original New York archives. He writes not merely as a student of the times which he describes, but as a participant, having served in various posts of artillery command during the early years of the war; and at several points in the narrative (pp. 111, 175, 346) casual mention is made of matters which came within his personal observation and experience.

The scope of the work may best be indicated by a summary of its contents. The opening chapter is entitled "The Genesis of the Union", and deals largely with the varying manifestations of Union and States' Rights sentiments called forth by the slavery question preceding the war. Subsequent chapters deal with "The Executive Crisis" precipitated by the election of Lincoln; the personalities and problems of the "Administration" in the early stages of the armed conflict; "State Support" in the four states named, including the formulation and conversion "from social means to political ends" of "the passionate vehemence of the sympathizing sex" in the Sanitary Commission (p. 126); "Federal and State Interference", which comprises the New York attempts to control the appointment of general officers, together with a long account of the friction between General Butler and Governor Andrew over rival state and federal enlistments in Massachusetts; the "Party Estrangement" following the military miscarriages, Emancipation Proclamation, arbitrary arrests, and corruption in the departments; "The People under Compulsion", dealing with the draft; a chapter on "Government", which continues the subject dealt with in chapter III.; and a final chapter entitled "The Union Vindicated and Developed."

The narrative is never perfunctory, and at times it rises into bril-

liancy; though it must be confessed that a striving for epigram and fine writing, together with defective organization of material, are among the faults of the book. As a business man Mr. Weeden finds it difficult to deal patiently with the short-sighted and unbusinesslike policies which characterized the early stages of the war, and frequent use is made of such terms as "official astigmatism", "bureaucratic obscurantism", "bureau miasma". In particular, the federal administration is censured severely for not accepting all the troops offered by the loyal governors in 1861 and 1862. Even Lincoln is not spared; for while justice is done to his "wise and far-seeing action" in the use of his "reserved prerogatives" (which, with frequent insistence, are derived from the office of king), of his general executive action the author says (p. 68): "He could not execute in the largest sense by care that 'foresees, provides, administers' affairs. Great as his motive might be, his interference in the bureaus became petty and pernicious. Any woman weeping in the White House could get an order pardoning a sentinel for sleeping on post. But that order would cost hundreds or thousands of lives." And again (p. 144): "If Abraham Lincoln had had something more of the same Napoleonic power of action [as Governor Morton, of Indiana], it would have been a great boon to the American executive."

For the work accomplished by Governors Andrew of Massachusetts, Curtin of Pennsylvania, Morgan of New York, and Morton of Indiana he has in the main only words of praise; the governors of the great commonwealths he styles "the only war-ministers the country had or could have, until the pressure of affairs developed Stanton" (p. 74). In his characterization of Morgan (p. 222) we have an excellent comparison of the abilities of the four men: Morgan "perhaps . . . was the best plain executive officer of the four . . . He could not govern, in the sense that Morton and Andrew could forelay state action, or Curtin could carry a whole people through his innate energy. But no one better directed the legitimate forces of the State by official prerogative than did Morgan." On the other hand, the author's contempt and condemnation are outspoken for "Copperheads" and the "dawdling Northern Democrats who vainly tried to build a new party out of their country's agony". Equally trenchant is his criticism of Northern radicals like Wendell Phillips, whom he styles (p. 149) "a political imbecile of the worst sort", who "lived in a sublimated, vitriolic atmosphere that common patriots could not breathe and assimilate".

Many of Mr. Weeden's characterizations and criticisms are shrewd and to the point, showing real insight into the problems of that troublous time and independence of thought in his estimates of men and measures. His judgments, however, are usually impressionistic, and not based on ordered evidence and argument; and where they differ from those, say, of Mr. Rhodes (as in his estimate of the course of the administration with reference to Vallandigham), they fail to carry conviction. The work, in short, is not of monographic character, but is rather a series of

somewhat discursive essays dealing pleasantly and instructively with the subjects of which it treats, while still leaving open the field for a more scientific study of the subject.

The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876. By PAUL LELAND HAWORTH, Lecturer in History, Columbia University. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 365.)

MR. HAWORTH'S study of the disputed election of 1876 possesses nearly every virtue desirable in a historical work, with one exception. It is based upon an investigation of every possible printed or manuscript source, which, as the author says, may be deemed exhaustive; for, although other sources of information exist, there is little likelihood of their being divulged, since "those actors who could tell the truth . . . will never do so" (p. x). This mass of material has been subjected to an analysis whose minute caution and systematic verification of statements are visible on every page. The author uses foot-notes skilfully, so as to avoid cumbering the page with bulky references while substantiating every important assertion. The conviction is impressed upon the reader that Mr. Haworth, in the search for facts, has come as close to the truth of this exceedingly complicated affair as it is possible for one to attain by historical methods.

Another merit lies in the compact handling of material. In spite of the enormous bulk of his evidence, Mr. Haworth manages to compress every essential fact into 343 pages, leaving out details, yet including many interesting, significant, and amusing brief quotations. The style, too, is admirably clear and graphic. There are few books devoted to a single line of complicated and rather sordid politics which read as entertainingly, largely because of the lucidity and ease of presentation.

Mr. Haworth, in short, has produced what ought to be an authoritative account of the great contested election; yet in view of one peculiar feature of the book it may be doubted whether it can be regarded as final. The monograph is pervaded from cover to cover with a strong bias in favor of the Republican party and against the Democratic. The facts are not concealed or altered, the errors or questionable proceedings of Republicans are not ignored, and every opinion of the author is provided with some recognition of a possible alternative conclusion; but, from start to finish of the long, complicated, and malodorous story, it is perfectly obvious that in Mr. Haworth's eyes the Republican party was uniformly right and the Democratic party uniformly wrong.

The interpretation of the case, according to Mr. Haworth, may be easily summed up: the returning boards were partizan and shameless, but their decisions were within their legal powers and were equitably correct; the contentions of the Democrats against the validity of electoral votes were groundless; the Electoral Commission decided correctly both in law and in equity; the Republican contest to secure the count-

ing of the doubtful votes for Hayes was not a "plot"; the Democratic leaders, including Mr. Tilden, are proved by the "Cipher dispatches" to have attempted bribery; the bargain by which Hayes ceased to support the carpet-bag governments in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, after securing their electoral votes, was proper and did not involve any real inconsistency.

The foregoing conclusions might of course be reached by a rigidly impartial judge through the weighing of evidence, but unfortunately it is the absence of impartiality which stands out prominently in Mr. Haworth's language and temper. They seem worthier indeed of 1866 than of 1906. All his praise is reserved for Republican leaders, all his sarcasm for their opponents. Tilden is mentioned only with a sneer. The speech of Jeremiah S. Black before the Electoral Commission is termed (p. 264) "a bitter invective, hardly to have been expected from the man who, in the greatest crisis of our history, had rendered to a weak President one of the . . . most unfortunate opinions ever given by a public officer." The Southern motive for attacking and terrifying negroes is said (pp. 82-83) to be the fact that "as the negro was now 'the nation's ward,' he was a convenient object on which the unthinking could vent their impotent hatred for the North". Mr. Haworth fairly gloats over the humiliation of South Carolina, even styling the carpet-bag abominations in that state "poetic justice" (p. 123), and picturing with evident satisfaction the situation of South Carolinians obliged to listen to "the strains of a song relating to a certain Brown late of Osawatomie" (p. 122).

Wherever Mr. Haworth admits any Republican error, he almost invariably offsets it by an allusion to an equivalent Democratic misdemeanor. The Florida returning board, for instance, "did its work in an unpardonably partisan manner, though in so doing . . . it merely followed examples recently set by the Democratic majority in the national House of Representatives" (p. 67). Further, while admitting that all the returning boards altered returns to secure Republican majorities, Mr. Haworth considers that this was merely a recognition of the fact that in equity the states were Republican, owing to the existence of negro intimidation. "Had there been a fair and free election . . . there can be little if any doubt that the result . . . would have been favorable to Hayes" (p. 340). In short, the monograph is thoroughly scientific in method and sound in its criticism of fact, but is equally unscientific in spirit and temper. The style occasionally descends perilously near flippancy and vulgarity at the expense of Southern Democrats. What prevents this partizanship from damaging the work is the author's admirable clearness and comprehensiveness of research and his recognition that, for all his preferences, there were two sides to each question. Mr. Haworth's decisions are those of an "eight to seven" Republican, every time, but the evidence is fully given.

MINOR NOTICES

Sociological Papers. Volume II., 1905. By Francis Galton, P. Geddes, M. E. Sadler, E. Westermarck, H. Höffding, J. H. Bridges, and J. S. Stuart-Glennie. (Published for the Sociological Society, London, Macmillan and Company, 1906, pp. xiii, 312.) This volume comprises the papers read before the English Sociological Society, and the discussions thereon, during its meetings from October, 1904, to June, 1905. The Sociological Society takes all knowledge as its field, and the seven papers in this volume naturally cover a variety of subjects. The paper by Dr. J. H. Bridges on "Some Guiding Principles in the Philosophy of History" is of interest to historical students. Dr. Bridges argues (p. 203) "that there is room for a new speciality in the study of history, which is to bring the specialities together, and range them, so far as this can be done, in a continuance sequence." Every student of the philosophy of history must have some theory as the basis of his philosophy, and Dr. Bridges finds the unity of history in the gradual disappearance of the theocratic or religious elements of government. This position is very properly criticized as being too narrow; in the discussion of the paper Mr. G. M. Trevelyan asserts that if any agreement could be reached upon a philosophy of history, it would have to be much more all-embracing than the consideration of a single set of phenomena like the alleged decline of the theocratic element in government. The discussion of this subject is stimulating.

Mr. J. S. Stuart-Glennie upholds a curious theory by which he maintains that similar historical events recur every five hundred years; by means of this theory he confidently and definitely predicts future occurrences. Throughout the papers in this volume one is impressed with the predominant influence of Comte among the sociologists. Some of the papers are couched in such language as to render their meaning very obscure; it may almost be said that the sociologists have developed a complete technical terminology before they have defined the proper scope of their science.

Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, at its second annual meeting held at Baltimore, Md., December 26 to 29, 1905. (Lancaster, Pa., Wickersham Press, 1906, pp. 232.) Most of the subjects discussed in this volume are of present political interest; the papers upon negro suffrage in the South and upon municipal ownership of natural monopolies are of great value to one who takes an interest in problems of the present day. The only paper of a definitely historical character is that of Miss Mary L. Hinsdale entitled "The Cabinet and Congress: an Historical Inquiry"; this paper contains a careful discussion of the relations between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, and of the attempts to give Cabinet members seats in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Professor Schaper's report on instruction in political science is of

great interest to teachers both of political science and of history. From the results of examinations given in a number of representative universities Professor Schaper shows conclusively that the average college student is grossly ignorant of the essential features of the American government. Students ignorant of the principles of American government are incapable of getting proper results from college work in American history. Every teacher of historical subjects will agree with Professor Schaper's conclusion (p. 227) that "every candidate for a college degree [should] be required to have attained a certain proficiency in American Government and American History." During the last ten years the colleges and universities have made much progress in the scientific instruction in political science, but little has yet been done in the secondary schools. It is almost a platitude to say that students should be taught the duties of American citizenship, but few realize how little is being done in this direction.

De l'Esprit du Gouvernement Démocratique: Essai de Science Politique. Par Adolphe Prins. (Bruxelles, Misch et Thron, 1905, pp. ix, 294.) This is the second volume of the *Études Sociales* of the Institut de Sociologie (Institut Solvay) of Brussels. M. Prins is a pronounced critic of modern democratic institutions; he rejects the theoretical principles of Rousseau, upon which he finds modern democracy to be based. Rousseau's fundamental idea was that of the sovereignty of the people, and he found the popular will to be expressed by the vote of a numerical majority. Universal suffrage has been the one remedy which liberal statesmen have sought to apply to all political ills. In the opinion of the author universal suffrage and government by a majority have proved to be failures. The majority does not represent all the interests of society, and the tyranny of numbers must be prevented by checks and balances in the organized government. To him a government is democratic only when it represents the numerous social groups of which the state is composed; representation of interests must be substituted for the representation of members. He finds much of good in the estates, orders, and guilds of medieval states and cities; his ideal is the solidarity of interests which Gneist thought to be the essential feature of the English government before the reform measures of the nineteenth century. The state is only a series of groups or associations, each of which has its passions and its opinions; society is not homogeneous, and universal suffrage does not secure unity of opinion. There is no stability in national political life because the permanent interests of the various social groups are not represented therein.

As a remedy for existing evils our author proposes a greater decentralization of local government, and representation in national parliaments based upon relative worth and education of the various social classes. He speaks approvingly of the three-class electoral system of Prussia, and of proportional representation, but his programme would require a much more extensive reform of representative institutions.

The principle of the political equality of individuals has failed in practice and must be abandoned altogether. For Belgium he proposes the division of the country into (1) agricultural districts, (2) small cities, and (3) large cities. Within each of these areas the several classes should choose separate representatives. In the agricultural communities, for example, the proprietors should form one electoral college, the laborers another, each choosing a representative.

The proposal is an ingenious one, but many students of political science will not agree that modern democracy has proved a failure. Few will concede that democratic institutions have failed in the United States. The instability of parliamentary government on the continent of Europe may well be attributed to the brief experience of the people in popular government. M. Prins, when he compares the success of England with the failure of continental countries, fails to see that the comparison is hardly a fair one. Although one may dissent from the author's general thesis, it must be said that he has written a thoughtful and instructive criticism of modern political conditions.

Notes on the History and Political Institutions of the Old World. By Edward Preissig, Ph.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. ix, 719.) This book grew out of a set of student's notes, compiled for an examination, and professes to offer in a single volume an epitome of the two subjects named in the title. Student's notes are likely not to be of great value except to the person who has taken them. Dr. Preissig's book bears marks of its origin in the lack of proportion with which it is constructed, and in the omission of many important subjects. In such a work it would be difficult to justify the omission of any reference to the revolutions of 1848 in the Austrian dominions, and to the Austro-Hungarian government. Practically no mention is made of what is perhaps the most important development of European history in the nineteenth century—the gradual dismemberment of Turkey in Europe.

Dr. Preissig's volume is professedly based upon secondary works in English, and makes no pretense to originality. The compiler sometimes contributes additional bits of information, as, for instance, the statement that the French army invaded Germany in 1870 (p. 616). Threshing as it does over fields already covered by many excellent works, such a book as this should find its justification in clearness of presentation, yet in this respect it can hardly be called a success. Though it contains much information, which is usually accurate, it will not supply the place of the works from which it is compiled, and will be of little use to the student or to the advanced scholar to whom its preface refers. The language is often so confused as to be almost unintelligible, and many errors appear which should have been detected in a careful reading of the manuscript or of the proof.

The Silver Age of the Greek World. By John Pentland Mahaffy, Sometime Professor of Ancient History in the University of Dublin.

(Chicago, The University of Chicago Press; London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1906, pp. vii, 482.) The preface begins as follows: "This book is intended to replace my *Greek World under Roman Sway*, now out of print, in a maturer and better form, and with much new material superadded." Chapter III., "Hellenism in Upper Egypt", pp. 40-58, is entirely new, and is based on the remarkable finds of papyri at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayyum during the last fifteen years, in the publication of which Professor Mahaffy took such an honorable part, and with which the names of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt are so gratefully associated by scholars. Other new pages are 142-143, based on Theodore Reinach's monograph, *Mithradates Eupator*; 288-294, based on or due to the Oxyrhynchus papyri and Bevan's *House of Seleucus*; and 401-402, based on or called forth by Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. Otherwise the book is much the same as in its earlier form (1890). A few sentences have been inserted at p. 70, attempting, unsuccessfully, to defend the assignment of the Pseudo-Callisthenic *Life of Alexander* to a period immediately following the death of Alexander. A brief note has been added here, or suppressed there; a sentence added to the text here, or removed from it there; a phrase or single word changed here and there. Pompeii, for instance, is now "gay and charming" (p. 248), instead of "gay and lively", where the earlier epithet seems, on the whole, better. Heberdey's name has been added (p. 266) to the list of explorers of Asia Minor, etc., etc.

But the general character of the book remains the same in 1906 as it was in 1890. We were grateful for it then, and we are grateful for it now, in spite of its journalistic tone, its parade of independence, its bold raps at great fames and the consensus of scholarly opinion, and its persistence, increased if anything, in drawing the deadly modern parallel. "Parallels in our own day and the British Empire start up unbidden, however angrily the pedant may threaten us, however loftily he may warn us against illustrating a remote age of civilisation by the clear analogies of modern life." Still, one does tire of having ancient Egypt illustrated by modern Ireland, and one refuses to believe that "the curiosity of Roman tourists, who were both wealthy and ignorant, and who crowded into Greece and Asia Minor, gave the same peculiar scope to enterprising cicerones that the influx of Americans to Europe has given in our day". We were not asked to believe this in the earlier edition.

However, one can pardon much after enjoying such a chapter as "The Hellenism of Cicero and His Friends", or such pictures of Greece under the early emperors as are drawn for us with the aid of Dio Chrysostomus. And, after all, it is the only book of its kind. Nowhere else can one get a connected survey of what the Greeks were doing and thinking and saying under the dominance of that empire whose social life has been depicted in such a scholarly and yet fascinating manner by Professor Dill. And when we contrast the paucity of evidence at

the command of Professor Mahaffy with the overflowing wealth of that with which Professor Dill operates, our debt to the Hellenist seems all the greater.

B. PERRIN.

Le Fonti ed I Tempi dello Incendio Neroniano. Per Attilio Profumo. (Rome, Forzani e C., 1905, pp. x, 748.) In this ponderous volume the author discusses the sources of our knowledge of the great fire of 64 A. D., the persecution of the Christians, and everything in the circumstances of the period that might have any possible bearing upon that disaster. The results at which he believes that he has arrived are briefly these: The sources fall into four classes, *fonti derivate indirette*, Eusebius, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius; *fonti derivate prossime*, Dio Cassius; *fonti derivate proximiori*, Suetonius and Tacitus; and *fonti prime*, Fabius Rusticus, Cluvius Rufus, and the elder Pliny. The authority of the last two is paramount, and their evidence, as well as that of the others except Tacitus, points definitely to Nero as the culprit. His reason for setting fire to the city was that he might have an opportunity to rebuild a large part of it and to carry out his idea of developing the Rome of the Republic into a new Neropolis. The fire occurred in July, 64, and during the few months following the popular outcry against the emperor as the author of the disaster became so vigorous that he felt it necessary to divert the attention of the populace. This he did by arousing such feeling, "abolendo rumori", as resulted in the persecution of 65. That the Christians had nothing to do with the fire itself is shown by the fact that at no time were any legal proceedings instituted against them on that ground. The court version was that the fire was accidental, and this is the alternative explanation offered by Tacitus in his famous narrative. While all other allusions in Tacitus show that he shared the universal belief in Nero's guilt, he felt obliged to admit the official version as a possibility on account of his intimacy with Nerva and the court of Trajan.

The author's method is exhaustive and minute in the extreme, embracing lengthy discussions of many topics by no means germane to the subject, but there is some good work in the book, and the evidence in support of his various theses has been unquestionably marshalled as never before. In the nature of the case, however, certainty will never be reached, for men will never agree entirely in their estimate of the value of Tacitus's statements.

The style is prolix and involved, and the page is disfigured by innumerable parentheses, quotation-marks, points of exclamation and interrogation, italics, and heavy-faced type. The book would be infinitely more useful and valuable if it were one-quarter of its present size.

S. B. P.

An Introduction to the English Historians. By Charles A. Beard, Ph.D., Lecturer in History and Political Science, Columbia University.

(New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. xi, 669.) In this book Mr. Beard tries to solve a problem very real to teachers of large history classes—the twofold problem of introducing each member of the class “to a number of great authorities on special periods and topics” at the same time, and of securing a critical examination of the material in the class-room. His work differs from the well-known source-books in that it consists of excerpts from the secondary sources only: *e. g.*, Maitland, Freeman, and Stubbs. Thirty-six authors are represented and a larger number of works. The difficulty of making a wise selection from abundant materials is recognized and fairly met. Each chapter is prefaced by a brief explanatory statement concerning the citation, which is divided into sections with topical headings. These form a brief, clear analysis. It must be a dull or negligent student who, with these aids, cannot see the bearing of the passage on the topics under discussion. A short bibliographical note concludes each chapter, and an index at the end of the volume gives easy access to the material. When the treatment of the subject by a well-known authority is specially open to criticism, the fact is stated and comparison with other writers recommended; for example, Professor Freeman’s treatment of the Anglo-Saxon royal council, or Witan, as compared with Mr. Chadwick’s in his *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*; or Dr. McKechnie’s careful commentary on the true nature of Magna Carta, and the mass of tradition which grew up about it from re-reading the charter “in the light of the interests of succeeding ages”. Probably no one will criticize the author for devoting half his space to the last three centuries. The present tendency seems to be to emphasize modern history. A glance at the table of contents suggests an interesting book, which is confirmed by a more careful examination. For example, part III., “Mediaeval Institutions”, deals with “The Growth of an English Manor” (Maitland), “The Mediaeval Gilds” (Ashley), “Town Life in the Middle Ages” (Green), “The Church in the Middle Ages” (Stubbs), and “John Wycliffe and the Church” (Trevelyan).

A collection of this kind is open to two serious objections: (1) the subject-matter is in a sense “predigested”, and the student fails to get the discipline which comes from finding the material and analyzing it for himself; (2) the personality of the authors becomes blurred. The book seems to be the work of one man, not of thirty-six. There is a value in handling the original work, a temptation to go beyond the immediate assignment and to become intimate with the author. This is not likely to result from reading a collection of excerpts. To meet this danger, Mr. Beard would require the student to supplement the readings by independent critical work in the library. This plan, if faithfully adhered to, will almost certainly give the students, as a class, a deeper insight into history than they would secure otherwise.

C. T. WYCKOFF.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome II., 1461-1477 (Volumes 5-7). (Geneva, H. Kündig, 1906, pp. ix, 571.) This bulky volume suggests the amount of business transacted by the Genevan councils. The records of six years cover 480 printed quarto pages. In 1474, presumably a fairly typical year, over two meetings a week were held by the councils—and in only one was the secretary obliged to record “*multa fuerunt dicta, sed nichil conclusum est.*” The municipal housekeeping is like that recorded in the first volume.¹ Certain items throw interesting side-lights on Genevan life: the sturdy maintenance of their liberties against duke and bishop; the order of 1461 “that every one should have a sword behind the door in front of his house or in the workshop of his house”; the attempted regulation of vice through a queen of the vicious; careful auditing of treasurer's accounts, and shrewd bargaining over relief from feudal obligations; an amusing case of a packed caucus where there was “much cavilling” because “more than twelve appeared who were not invited”, with the natural result that in the subsequent annual election the primary assembly broke the slate.

But in these years the councils' records take a wider range. Through dealings with Savoy, Louis XI., Charles the Bold, and the Swiss, Geneva was drawn into vexatious and costly trials; yet through them she added to her thrifty and independent characteristics a needed breadth of interest and experience in the larger interests of Europe.

The volume is prepared with the care and accuracy to be expected from its editors, Louis Dufour-Vernes, the Genevan archivist, and Victor Van Berchem. The improvements which they have introduced into the second volume should be continued and possibly extended—an appendix (with an inedited letter of Charles the Bold), lists of Genevan officers, foot-notes which are models of brevity and usefulness, and a greater fullness and subdivision of the index.

HERBERT D. FOSTER.

Nonciatures de France: Nonciatures de Clément VII. Publiées par l'Abbé J. Fraikin, Ancien Chapelain de St.-Louis-des-Français. Tome I. Depuis la Bataille de Pavie jusqu'au Rappel d'Acciaiuoli, 25 février 1525—juin 1527. (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. lxxxvii, 451.) This is one of the volumes in the series called “Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France”, managed by a committee of which Professor Imbart de la Tour is president, and of which Count Boulay de la Meurthe, Professor E. Chatelain, Abbé Ulysse Chevalier, M. Noël Valois, and other well-known scholars are members. Its publications are to lie principally but not solely in the sixteenth century. The preceding issues were: *Mémoires des Evêques de France sur la Conduite à tenir à l'égard des Réformés* (1698), ed. Jean Lemoine, and *Ambassades en Angleterre de Jean du Bellay*, I. 1527-1529, ed. V. L. Bourrilly and P. de Vaissière. The committee proposes, as one considerable section of its work, to

¹ See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 546.

print the despatches of the papal nuncios in France, from the time of Clement VII. to that of Gregory XIII. Thus it will do for France a work parallel to that which is being done for Germany by the joint efforts of the Prussian and Austrian Historical Institutes in Rome and the Görres-Gesellschaft, and to that which was begun for Spain by Hinojosa. Pieper's articles of a dozen years ago, together with those, more specifically relating to France, which Abbé Pierre Richard has within the last two years published in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, have made clear the earlier history of the institution of nuncios. The correspondence of those of Paris is not complete till we reach the year 1570 and the establishment of the office of the papal secretary of state; but in Clement VII.'s time the institution is well established though not potent. The French committee intends to print the letters and despatches of the nuncios, but not, as a rule, the enclosures. The present volume contains 225 letters and despatches, and also a certain number of papal bulls and royal letters-patent. While it embraces some portions of the correspondence of Capino da Capo and of the cardinal-legate Giovanni Salviati, it is mainly made up of that of Roberto Acciaiuoli, derived mostly from volume I. of the "Nunziatura di Francia" in the Vatican archives and from a volume in those of Florence. Thorough search elsewhere has brought some additional gleanings. Of the letters printed, a good number are already printed in Desjardins's *Relations entre la France et la Toscane*, because Acciaiuoli was also a Florentine ambassador; and much of the information is in Marino Sanuto. Yet there are additional facts relating to the French court and to the changing relations between France and England. The editing seems to answer the highest requirements of scholarship. An excellent introduction traces clearly the papal diplomacy from the battle of Pavia to the check of the league of Cognac.

The True Story of Robert Browne, (1550?-1633), Father of Congregationalism; Including various Points hitherto unknown or misunderstood, with some Account of the Development of his Religious Views, and an extended and improved List of his Writings. By Champlin Burrage, M.A., Research Fellow of Newton Theological Institution. (Oxford, University Press; London, H. Frowde, 1906, pp. viii, 75.) Mr. Champlin Burrage, son of Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage, the well-known Baptist historian, has devoted himself for a number of years to investigation in England of the sources of Congregationalism, and especially to the life and writings of Robert Browne. His efforts have been crowned with marked success. Three unpublished manuscripts of Browne of decided importance are the trophies of his search, one of which was printed, in 1904, as *A New Years Gift* (London). By reason of the new light which these discoveries throw upon Browne's history and views, and by further investigation of the tangled story, he has been able to correct and supplement not merely the work of older biographers, of whom the late Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter was the

chief, but in some particulars that of so recent and deserving a student as the Rev. F. Ives Cater of Oundle (*Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, II. 151-159, 235-246). The whole monograph is painstaking and workmanlike; but a chief feature of general interest will be found in its exhibition from Browne's own writings of his gradual change of opinion from rigid Separatism, through increasing conformity, to a position which made his own acceptance of ordination in the Church of England on September 30, 1591, a not unnatural step, however inconsistent with his earlier beliefs. This fuller knowledge of the phases of Browne's mental development enables Mr. Burrage to combat successfully the theory advocated by Dr. Dexter that his later history is to be explained on the supposition of the breakdown of an overwrought mind. Whether Mr. Burrage leaves Browne a character more worthy of respect may be questioned; but his picture is undoubtedly more accurate, and the nature of the man he portrays more consistent, than that delineated by earlier and less instructed biographers. The little volume is one to be welcomed by all students of the beginnings of Separatism and of Congregationalism.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652-1654. Edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner and C. T. Atkinson. Vol. III. (London, the Society, 1906, pp. xviii, 452.) In this third volume, long delayed by Dr. Gardiner's death, there are almost exactly three hundred documents, divided into two sections: part VII., Tromp's Voyage to the Isle of Ré, and part VIII., The Reorganisation of the Fleet. Dr. Gardiner, we are informed, had selected and arranged the papers, had written the introduction to part VII., and had made a certain number of footnotes to both parts. The rest of the editing is due to Mr. Atkinson of Exeter College, Oxford, who will edit the remainder of the series. It is plain that there will be two or three more volumes, so that we are likely to have a greater fullness of information respecting this war than respecting almost any other naval war of former days. The present volume, like its predecessors, presents many Dutch documents (translated) from the archives of the Hague, chiefly resolutions of the States General and correspondence of that body and the admiralties with Tromp; orders of the Council of State, letters of Blake, and other documents from the Public Record Office and the British Museum; and extracts from pamphlets and newsletters. In part VII. the chief interest centres around the battle off Dungeness. The difficulties of Tromp's double task, to convoy the merchant fleet to the Isle of Ré and also to seek out and destroy the enemy, the inferior state of preparation of Blake's fleet, the causes and responsibility for this, the nature of Tromp's strategy, are clearly manifested. "It is needless to say that no word occurs in these papers relating to the fabulous broom which Tromp is supposed to have hoisted at his masthead." The longest pieces in this part are the respective journals of Rear-Admiral Florissen, Vice-

Admiral Evertsen, and Commodore Ruyter. It is a striking defect in the editing that while volume and page are minutely given for every document from the English archives, "Archives of the Hague", without more, is deemed a sufficiently definite designation for the Dutch pieces. Part VIII. is confined to English pieces. As the victory of the English fleet at the Kentish Knock was followed by much searching of heart and cleaning of house among the Dutch admiralities, so Blake's defeat at Dungeness led at once to vigorous efforts to increase the fleet, reform the organization of the navy, and improve the condition of the seamen. The details can here be followed. The first two volumes were reviewed in this journal seven years ago (V. 162, 792).

Noterelle Varesine. By F. Della Chiesa. (Varese, Bagaini, Codara and Co., 1906, pp. 193.) Della Chiesa's volume will pass neglected by those who estimate the value of historical works exclusively by their bulk, and the quantity of their foot-notes and bibliographical references. But it is from such volumes as this, written with noble simplicity by patriots in whom the sacred fire of sacrifice still burns, that we are able to-day to understand the force and sway of those patriotic ideals which freed and united Italy in the century just passed, and the heroism and self-abnegation which have made of her a great nation. The motives which induce revolutions are invariably complex, the sordid intermingled with the heroic and the sublime; but it may be stated without fear of contradiction, that in the revolutions which made modern Italy, the ideal had a vastly preponderating influence, and was sustained by a fervor of sacrifice such as history has seldom had occasion to record. Commercial advantages and personal ambition occupied a secondary place in the struggle for Italian independence and unity; and the personal narratives of patriots and veterans, when simply and dispassionately written, have an incalculable value as records of historical forces less material and more evanescent than the vulgar influences with which the historian has more commonly to deal. Della Chiesa's *Noterelle Varesine*, like Abba's *Noterelle d'uno dei Mille* and Settembrini's *Ricordanze*, gives one a truer conception of the spirit of the Italian *Risorgimento* than libraries of statistics, or of diplomatic correspondence, or of parliamentary discussions, essential as these are.

The volume relates principally to revolutionary sentiment and action in Varese, Della Chiesa's native city, in 1848, in the unhappy years that followed, and in the stirring days of 1859 and 1860; to Garibaldian action at Luino and Morazzone in August, 1848; and to the writer's own experiences as a lad of sixteen or seventeen in the Garibaldian campaigns of 1866 and 1867. The chapters of personal narrative upon these last mentioned campaigns give characteristic pictures of Garibaldian enrollments as well as of active service in the field. At Mentana Della Chiesa was made prisoner; afterward he was confined in Castel S. Angelo, in S. Michele, and in a *bagno* at Civitavecchia. Not less moving are his descriptions of the fervid days of March, 1848, at Varese,

based upon the testimony of participants in those events, and his recollections of childhood in the same city in the glorious days of 1859. Varese is close to the Swiss border of Lombardy, and as a border city it offered peculiar advantages to the conspirator, and was strongly garrisoned by the Austrian forces. The sketches of the meetings of café clubs, of home colloquies behind barred doors, of children's martial games, of conspirators' grim practical jokes, and of mothers' acts of Spartan sacrifice, are glimpses of the life not only of Varese, but that was lived in a hundred Lombard and Venetian cities as well, in days when hatred of foreign domination and the sense of nascent Italian nationality colored every act of public and private life. In few volumes upon the *Risorgimento* are these pictures so vividly drawn. They constitute an important contribution to history.

H. NELSON GAY.

Memories and Thoughts. Men—Books—Cities—Art. By Frederic Harrison. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. ix, 409.) This volume is a collection of articles which appeared during the past twenty-four years in various American and English periodicals of the better class. By the author the book is described as "a chapter from certain *Memoirs* that [he] intends to retain in manuscript *penes se*". The articles are occasional in origin, and in character they are miscellaneous, varying in topic from discussions of card-playing and tobacco to appreciations of Tennyson and Renan on the occasion of their deaths. A section of twenty-three pages is devoted by Mr. Harrison to his impressions of America in 1901, and another of twenty pages to his memoirs from 1837 to 1896. The articles, forty-four in number, are necessarily brief. One of the longer paints an ideal future of London, and another treats of Paris's past.

The part of the volume which approaches most nearly the province of the historian was written, as was most of the book, since 1895. This part may be divided roughly into two sections, the one discussing the makers of history and the other its writers. Of the former sort are the author's proposal in 1897 to celebrate the millenary of King Alfred in 1901, three articles on Oliver Cromwell, and single articles on Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin; while the historians who fall within the author's survey are Gibbon, Carlyle, and Motley. The occasion on which Mr. Harrison set forth his views on historical writing, under the title of "Scientific History", was the appearance of Herbert Paul's *Life of Froude*. The volume in general is critical in its nature; it offers little definite information to professional historians. To them indeed the book is not addressed.

La Inquisición de México. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra, Tomo V.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1906, pp. ii, 287.) The fifth volume of this valuable series contains twenty-six documents devoted to the history of

the Inquisition of Mexico, that curious anachronism on American soil, which persisted up to the second decade of the nineteenth century. Among these documents now made available to students possibly the most interesting is the record of a discussion in the Spanish Cortes which extended from December 8, 1812, to February 5, 1813, as to the abolition of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, in which the reasons for its establishment and the steps taken to found it are treated. This discussion further developed the idea that the system of the Inquisition is incompatible with that of the Constitution. Document no. iv. contains brief statements of fifty-five persons tried by the Mexican Inquisition in 1572; no. vi. is a similar list of trials from 1597 to 1601, and no. xv. is a list of those condemned in 1647.

The present volume adds considerably to the printed documents concerning the Inquisition in Mexico and worthily follows the useful volume published by Luis González Obregón in 1895. In spite of the destruction of many manuscripts there is still a vast amount of material relating to the Mexican Inquisition which requires to be digested or at least published in abstract before its history can be fully set forth. The present volume is a useful contribution to that end.

The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States; Florida, 1562-1574. By Woodbury Lowery. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, pp. xxi, 500.) The late Mr. Woodbury Lowery was peculiarly fortunate in the subject for the second volume of his history of the Spanish settlements in the United States, a work broken off just as he approached the portion where his exceptional opportunities and careful preparation promised results of the utmost interest. How rich the field is which still awaits thorough investigation, and how far the ideas now current may have to be modified, is clearly suggested by the amount of detail new to English readers in Mr. Lowery's account of the familiar episode of the massacre of Laudonnière's Florida settlement and the bloody revenge of the Frenchmen. Although the major part of the material used by him was printed in 1893, it appears not to have been utilized by the more recent American writers who have touched on the subject. The *Dos Relaciones de la Florida* edited by D. Genaro García in 1902 are equally entitled to rank as new material, at least to students in this country. The unpublished manuscripts to which he has had access consist chiefly of the public and private reports of the Spanish agents at the other European courts.

If Mr. Lowery's point of view is at times somewhat clearly from the Spanish side, he might very properly have claimed that this was necessary in order to leave with the modern English reader a correct impression of the causes and the results of the misfortunes which overtook French and Spanish alike. For many well-known reasons, the writers and readers of history, outside of Spain, have for three hundred years been imbued with a deeply-rooted hatred toward everything that

emanated from the Peninsula. For a long while there were excellent political reasons why this feeling should have been fostered, but it has persisted in the popular mind long since there ceased to be any proper justification for it. This fact made Mr. Lowery's task particularly difficult, and the success with which he accomplished it adds much to the keen regret that it must remain only half done.

G. P. W.

The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain (1604-1616) Narrated by Himself. Translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne. Together with the Voyage of 1603, reprinted from *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Edward Gaylord Bourne, Professor of History in Yale University. Two volumes. (New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1906, pp. xl, 254; ix, 229.) Champlain wrote five works: (1) the *Brief Discours* relating to his voyages of 1599-1601 to the West Indies and New Spain; (2) the *Sauvages*, or voyage of 1603 to New France, printed in 1604, of which Purchas printed an English version; (3) the *Voyages* of 1613, including the *Quatriesme Voyage* which, though it has a separate title, is bound up with the *Voyages*; (4) the *Voyages et Descouvertes* of 1619, reissued in 1620 and in 1627; and finally (5) *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale*, published in 1632. This last, which furnishes the main contents of Professor Bourne's latest contribution to the "Trail Makers" series, begins with a brief and not very accurate account of French colonial endeavors before Champlain's time, describes succinctly his voyage of 1603, presents in a somewhat abridged and differing form the material of his books of 1613 and 1619, continues the narrative to 1631, with a record mostly occupied with local French happenings at Quebec, and adds a treatise on navigation. Of this final work of the great explorer and colonizer, Professor Bourne prints the first half, extending to 1616, when Champlain's career as an explorer came virtually to an end. The editor rejects as lacking foundation the notion that the work published in 1632 was subjected to a revision unfriendly to the Recollects and over-friendly to the Jesuits. After the portion of this work reproduced by him he reprints Purchas's version of the *Sauvages*, though by date it might as properly precede. The translation is readable, the introduction excellent, and the notes, though not numerous, frequently offer original and valuable suggestions. Champlain's map of New France of 1632 and some of his plates are reproduced, but with indifferent success.

The Records of the Virginia Company of London; The Court Book, from the Manuscript in the Library of Congress. Edited, with an Introduction and Bibliography, by Susan Myra Kingsbury, A.M., Ph.D., Instructor in Simmons College. Preface by Herbert Levi Osgood, A.M., Ph.D., Professor in Columbia University. Two volumes. (Wash-

ington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. 636, 611.)¹ Many efforts have been made, through a period of nearly fifty years, to secure the publication of these priceless records of our first colonizing company. We have had only the inaccurate quotations of Neill and the insufficient extracts printed some years ago by the Virginia Historical Society. But all those who have taken part in former efforts to publish ought to rejoice that they failed, since the delay has resulted in bringing out, in the fulness of time, a much better edition than would have been produced earlier. In respect to externals, the two volumes now before us are worthy of their occasion, stately and elegant. To Miss Kingsbury's scholarly introduction, issued separately in a small number of copies some months ago, we offered our tribute of praise in the October number (p. 174). This introduction is now reprinted, save the list of authorities. On p. 209 (not p. 215, as the table of contents indicates) begins the Court Book itself, extending from April 28, 1619, to June 7, 1624, and filling the remainder of the first volume and the whole of the second. A third volume, containing records additional to those of the court books, seems to be indicated in the introduction; it is to be hoped that it will be executed. The present volumes have, as illustrations, facsimiles of the handwriting of Nicholas Ferrar, Edward Collingwood, and the various copyists, and are preceded by a preface in which Professor Osgood sets forth the value and importance of the records.

All possible pains seem to have been taken to insure a correct text. In the various questions which must arise as to how a correct text is to be presented, the tendency of the decisions has been toward the Chinese side of the questions, so to speak. The symbols for "the" and "and" have been used instead of the words; the contractions for *par*, *per*, *prae*, *pri*, *pro*, and even *es*, have been represented by special types. It seems probable that those for whom the table explaining these contractions was devised would be advantaged by an explanation of those involved in "Xofer" and "Xp̄er". Though these records could profitably be accompanied by numberless notes, and cry aloud for a large number, which it is to be hoped are later to be supplied, at present there are but a few foot-notes, all belonging to one of two classes, those which are strictly textual, and those which identify documents mentioned in the text. In a table of symbols (I. 120) it looks odd to print "P.=Imperial Library, Paris"; nor are the archives of the Society of Jesus at Rome.

Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Su Virreinato en la Nueva España, Sus Contiendas con los PP. Jesuitas, Sus Partidarios en Puebla, Sus Apariciones, Sus Escritos Escogidos, Etc., Etc. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García and

¹The Library of Congress announces that the whole edition (1,500 copies) will be placed on sale, no free distribution whatever being intended; copies may be bought from the Superintendent of Documents, at the Government Printing Office.—Ed.

Carlos Pereyra, Tomo VII.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1906, pp. viii, 295.) Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, as Fiscal of the Indies, Protector of the Natives, *Visitador General* of New Spain, Viceroy, judge of the *residencias* of three viceroys, Bishop of Puebla, and Archbishop of Mexico, played so prominent a part in a troubled and important period of the history of New Spain that students will welcome any addition to the sources of our knowledge of the man and his times. Of the eleven documents in Señor García's collection, three (nos. I., VIII., and X.), occupying nearly a third of the volume, have hitherto been unpublished, and are, therefore, an accession to the printed literature of the subject. Two other documents (nos. III. and IX.), though hitherto extant in printed form, have been extremely rare, and belong practically in the class with the foregoing. For these five documents, even students having access to large collections of Spanish-Americana will be glad to turn to Señor García's volume. The three documents hitherto unprinted are: "Informe del Ilmo. Sr. D. Juan de Palafox, Obispo de Puebla, al Exmo. Sr. Conde de Salvatierra, Virrey de la Nueva España, 1642"; "Autos hechos sobre el alboroto acaecido en la ciudad de Puebla con motivo de haberse recibido las remisoriales de Su Santidad para las diligencias previas á la beatificación del Ilmo. Sr. D. Juan de Palafox, 1729"; and "Actas del Concilio Provincial Mexicano IV, celebrado en el año de 1771, en las cuales consta haberse resuelto pedir á Su Santidad Clemente XIII la promoción de la causa del Exmo. Ilmo., y V. Sr. D. Juan de Palafox, y asimismo la extinción de la Compañía de Jesus, 1771." The contents of the last two of these three documents are indicated by the titles, and it will be seen that they bear rather upon Palafox's reputation long after his death than upon his acts and his times. The first is a report, such as was customarily made by retiring viceroys, by Palafox to his successor Salvatierra, on the condition of New Spain, embodying suggestions for the improvement of the government. It is an excellent summary of the state of the country, and, taken with no. XI., Palafox's "De la Naturaleza del Indio", admirably reflects the dominant interests of the period.

The remaining documents are reprints of sources that may be had in most large collections on Spanish-America, and consequently will be useful mainly to students who have not access to such libraries, or to persons who wish illustrative sources on the period in convenient form. And these classes of students, the ones to whom the book as a whole will most appeal, are the very ones who will most regret its chief shortcoming—the lack of adequate editorial helps. It is to be hoped that in subsequent volumes Señor García will give his readers the benefit of more of these helps, which both his knowledge and his facilities so well enable him to supply. Viewed as a collection of illustrative materials on the period, the selection of matter has been well made, although one misses documents bearing directly on the altercations between the viceroy, Escalona, and Palafox, such, for instance, as might have been taken from *El Venerable Señor*. HERBERT E. BOLTON.

Baptist Councils in America. A Historical Study of their Origin and the Principles of their Development. By William Henry Allison, B.D. (Chicago, Press of George C. Hazlitt and Company, 1906, pp. 115.) In this work the author traces the principle of fellowship among Baptist churches in England and America from its beginning in the seventeenth century to the formation, in 1896, of the Permanent Council of Baptist Churches of the City of New York. A council in the Baptist polity is technically an organized body convened at the call of a local church and composed of representatives of the churches to which the call is issued, for the purpose of advising the convening church in regard to such matters as are stated in the call. The appearance of these councils in the Baptist denomination in the eighteenth century is presented in this study as a reflection of the democratic ideas of that time; and the author discusses closely the status of these councils then and since and their functions, still purely advisory, in such matters as the organization and dissolution of churches, the ordination and deposition of ministers, and the preservation of inter-congregational harmony. The work is furnished with a bibliography of its subject; it is based on a careful investigation of historical collections chiefly in New England.

A Tour of Four Great Rivers: the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware, in 1769; being the Journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey. Edited with a Short History of the Pioneer Settlements, by Francis W. Halsey. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. lxxiii, 102.) On the third of May, 1769, less than six months after the establishment of the Fort Stanwix Property Line, Richard Smith, a younger brother of the historian of New Jersey, left Burlington to superintend, for himself and associates, the survey of a tract of 69,000 acres lying in the southern part of what is now Otsego County, New York. His route lay across New Jersey and up the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers as far as Scramlin's (?Canajoharie). Proceeding thence to the Susquehanna via Cherry Valley and Otsego Lake, he left that river at Oghwaga, gained the Delaware at Cookoose (Deposit), and followed it to Burlington. The journey, which he estimated at 676 miles in all, was completed the tenth of June. From a copy of the careful journal which Smith kept throughout his trip, Mr. Francis W. Halsey printed some extracts in his *Old New York Frontier* (1901), and now, having compared it with the original manuscript, he has edited the entire diary, in a generously "limited" edition of 780 copies, as *A Tour of Four Great Rivers*. Richard Smith was an agreeable person as well as a useful diarist. He noted carefully the character of the soil and the timber, the size of the sawmills, the extension of settlement, the sources of supply of provisions, the prices of land and of goods, the opportunities for roads, and hundreds of other prosaic details which might throw light upon the actual and prospective value of his lands. And he gave a description no less exact of "the only Rattle Snake [he] ever saw alive", and recorded his pleasure at discovering the nests of the redbird, and of

"the Swamp Robin who delights in Solitude, avoiding the Haunts of Mankind, and whose chearful and sprightly Note in the dreary Wilderness often enlivens the weary Traveller". The journal is well indexed and seems to be printed, in general, with praiseworthy accuracy; but Smith, who doubtless knew his Horace, never wrote (p. 49) "Credat Indæns Apella non Ego". The "short history of the pioneer settlements" which forms three-fourths of the editor's introduction serves well enough as a pretext for a score of good half-tone views, but is too slight to deserve more serious consideration. The foot-notes, though perhaps adequate for the popular reader, will be found to explain the point which the student already understands more frequently than that as to which he needs enlightenment; and they are uniformly destitute of page references to the numerous books which they mention.

C. H. H.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772. Edited by John Pendleton Kennedy. (Richmond, 1906, pp. xxxv, 333.) Like its predecessor, reviewed in this journal last year (XI. 420), this volume appears in sumptuous form. The preceding volume covered the last years of this venerable assembly, beginning with the year 1773. The present, also divided by calendar years, covers three sessions. The first, an adjourned session of the assembly of 1769, began May 21 and ended June 28, 1770. The second, a session of the same assembly after prorogation, lasted from July 11 to July 20, 1771. Then came a dissolution, and a new assembly, which began a session on February 10 and continued it till April 11, 1772. The editor's introduction, which makes no distinction between adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution, and is not free from misprints, gives February 12 as the date of beginning of this session, and states that it adjourned on April 11, whereas the text shows plainly that it was prorogued. In the plan of issue, the next volume will run backward into the interesting years immediately preceding 1770. The text of the present volume is, of course, like that of almost any legislative journal, impossible to summarize. It is handsomely printed, with almost no annotation. It would be a convenience if dates appeared in the running headlines of the pages. Since the lists of burgesses are not a part of the journals, and therefore are open to question (*e. g.*, the journal itself shows, pp. 252, 289, that Henry Blagrove's membership for Lunenburg is not completely stated in the list) the sources from which the list is compiled should be stated.

Mr. Kennedy's introduction is mainly occupied with the questions of boundary which arose in the House of Burgesses during these years, and especially with documents on the Indian boundary and the grant to the Ohio Company. A map illustrating these matters is prefixed.

Volume II. of the *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (1906, pp. vi, 604), recently issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, was prepared by the late Mr. B. F.

Stevens, seen through the press by his successor Mr. Henry J. Brown, and printed in Dublin. (It may be mentioned that British government publications are now to be obtained through Messrs. Wyman and Sons, Limited, of Fetter Lane, and not as heretofore through Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode.) Like its predecessor, the volume is occupied with a calendar of papers relating to the American war of independence preserved by Maurice Morgann, secretary to Sir Guy Carleton. These headquarters papers are rich in correspondence of Howe, Clinton, and Carleton with their subordinates, especially upon matters of army business. Through the correspondence of Col. Roger Morris, "Inspector of the Claims of Refugees", and of the board which succeeded to his functions, and through that of the leaders of Tory military organizations, such as Colonel Benjamin Thompson, the Loyalists figure largely in the collection. The present volume extends from August, 1779, to June, 1782. It includes many interesting papers on the Penobscot expedition, the sieges of Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, and Pensacola, and the operations of Cornwallis and his subordinates. There is an excellent index.

The Canadian War of 1812. By C. P. Lucas, C.B. (Oxford, Henry Frowde, 1906, pp. v, 269.) This book is intended to be one of several dealing with Canadian history, and is made up from the *Annual Register*, James's *Naval and Military Occurrences*, Brannan's *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States during the Wars with Great Britain in the Years 1812 to 1815*, and the *Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier*, edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Lieutenant-colonel E. Cruikshank. If to these are added several histories of Canada and *Reports on Canadian Archives*, all the sources of material are stated, and they are neither extensive nor new. Six of John Melish's excellent, but not inaccessible, maps are well reproduced, and there are two other small new maps.

The purpose of the book is to set out a perfectly fair account of the military operations of the War of 1812, and this is done in a simple and straightforward way, stress being laid especially upon the agency of Canadian troops and commanders. Throughout there breathes a strong feeling of colonial patriotism and of kinship between Americans and Canadians.

The American plan of capturing Canada failed ignominiously, and largely because of the loyal attitude of the Canadians themselves; and the effect of the book is to impress upon us the fact that Canada as much as England was our foe. It would be of no profit to trace the progress of the war as it is given in this book, but especial attention may be called to the last chapter, which is so judicious and discriminating as to inspire the wish that there were more chapters like it.

It gives a brief narrative of the negotiating of the treaty of Ghent, and does not belittle that much-discussed agreement. It left the two countries where they had been before the war, but it left them at peace.

"The treaty", says Lucas (pp. 254-255), "was beyond question a triumph for American diplomacy. They had received back far more than they gave; they had successfully withstood nearly all the British claims. Though consenting to a provision on the subject of the Indians, they had eliminated from it nearly all its sting and force; and, unaided by the battle of New Orleans which was yet to come, they had brought their country unscathed out of a most dangerous position in which it had been placed by a policy which had aimed at conquest and had ended in failure."

Mr. Lucas says that in Great Britain the war has never been considered as of consequence. It brought little credit and apparently no result. Great Britain entered into it unwillingly and was glad to get out of it, and to forget it, especially because her navy had lost in reputation. The war brought no great exploits and no great military commanders on either side; but from the standpoint of colonial history it was fruitful of important issues, for it was a successful struggle on the part of Canada to save her country, and it showed that colonial patriotism had not left the British Empire when the United States left it. It brought the races together, and was the national war of Canada. It determined definitely that Great Britain should keep her place in North America.

Volumes XXVIII. and XXIX. of *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906, pp. 380, 424) deal in considerable measure with Oregon and furnish exceedingly valuable material for the early history of the far northwest. The longer of the two narratives is "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory", by Thomas J. Farnham. The reprint is made from the London edition of 1843. Farnham was a young Vermont lawyer, who had moved to Illinois in search of health and variety. An enterprising and venturesome body, he was stirred to interest and excitement by the tales of the fair Oregon country which were told by a travelling missionary, Jason Lee. This was in the autumn of 1838; and under Farnham's leadership a small band of adventurers, assuming as a motto "Oregon or the Grave", started out the next year on the long trip to the coast. Of course there were dissensions, disappointments, and hardships, but Farnham, who at least lacked neither enthusiasm nor courage, found his way to Oregon, saw the country in some degree, and became acquainted there with the missionaries and their work. The story of adventure is told with very unusual literary skill and, while one is tempted on account of the very eloquence of the narrative and the ease with which the writer masters dramatic language to distrust some of his conclusions and reflections, the tale will have permanent interest for the reader and value for the student of Western history. Farnham was instrumental in preparing and in forwarding to Congress, early in 1840, a petition from some seventy Americans on the coast, asking for a territorial government and "the civil institutions of

the American Republic". Perhaps Farnham had something to do with "saving" Oregon.

The latter portion of the second volume is taken up with the letters of Father Pierre Jean de Smet, a Jesuit missionary, who was engaged in the pious work of his order in Oregon—"Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46", reprinted from the edition of 1847. The narrative naturally has to do with missionary enterprise among the Indian tribes, and with accounts of Indian customs, but it also treats of general frontier conditions in part and tells of adventures.

These volumes, as is usual in the series, are well edited. The reviewer suspects—only suspects because he has not been able to compare the reprint with the original edition—that there are a few errors in proof-reading; but these would not be worth mentioning were it not for the high standard already set for the workmanship of the series. Should not "seat" (XXVIII. 13) be zeal? "Fiesta" (*ibid.*, 14) certainly is meant for siesta. Is not "pipes" (XXIX. 390) printed for pikes?

México durante su Guerra con los Estados Unidos. By José Fernando Ramírez. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra, Tomo III.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1905, pp. viii, 322.) The title of this volume is somewhat misleading. The book is in no sense an account of the military operations of the war between Mexico and the United States. Nearly one-half of it is a chronicle in diary form of the events late in 1845 and early in 1846 surrounding the downfall of the Herrera government and the Paredes revolution. The other half, with the exception of one letter to Santa Anna (postdated one year) and another from that Mexican leader in which he testifies to the patriotism and virtue of Ramírez, consists of letters written by Ramírez to a friend during the period from August, 1846, to October, 1847. Ramírez never played a sufficiently prominent part in Mexican public life (he was a subordinate official in the department of foreign relations during the war) to give his memoirs positive value as an original source of information. His diaries and letters, now first printed, have little to do with warfare, for he was a *rara avis* in Mexican society, having no taste or capacity for a military career. The editor of the volume states that Ramírez "saw in wars merely superficial and passing events; he scorned them by seeking in more profound studies the explanation of our [Mexico's] disasters". The pessimistic comments of Ramírez upon Mexican politics and life can hardly be termed profound, for they frequently descend to the level of gossip. He is a usually temperate but not wholly original critic of his contemporaries. He bewailed the weakness of Mexico, to which her traditional misgovernment and corrupt leaders had reduced her. When Slidell arrived as minister from the United States, prior to the Paredes revolution, Ramírez realized the hopelessness of any effort by Mexico to defend her territory. With the final defeat of Santa Anna he admitted that, sad as

Mexico's punishment had been, it was deserved. Santa Anna was then "infamous and accursed". As in the earlier volumes of this series, the typography leaves much to be desired.

JESSE S. REEVES.

Americana. Reiseindrücke, Betrachtungen, Geschichtliche Gesamtansicht. Von Karl Lamprecht. (Freiburg i. B., Hermann Heyfelder, 1906, pp. 147.) Professor Lamprecht explains that, while his journey in America at the time of the St. Louis congresses was accompanied with abundant note-taking, he had at the time no intention of writing a book of travels; but, having contributed some of his impressions to a German newspaper after his return, he found himself so much attacked and misunderstood by German Americans that he was drawn on into the printing of this small book. The justification of such a procedure lies in the results, which in this case, it must be said, are of very unequal value in the three divisions of the book. The author takes great pains to distinguish these three sections. The first embraces impressions of travel which are strictly contemporaneous, derived from a note-book in which he daily recorded only those things which he saw with his own eyes, and which accordingly he treats with somewhat the respect which we accord to an original historical source. Often these notes are interesting; but it is because they cast light on the most interesting personality among German historians, and show him broadening from week to week into a better appreciation of what he was seeing. It is not because they have any value of their own. A judicious historical scholar may feel warranted in confiding to his note-book, while his field of observation is still confined to the Americans on board his steamship, that American society lacks such and such qualities that mark the highest civilization, or that the rude designs of the American coinage, now first inspected, are characteristic of our status; he may conclude before reaching Montreal, by observations from the window of the train proceeding via Albany and Plattsburg, that all the advantages of soil lie on the side of Canada as compared with the United States. But will he print these hastily formed conclusions in a book? Part second consists of conclusions into which information obtained from others enters more largely, and which were written down at a later and better-informed stage of the author's progress. Here are many acute observations, on such topics as American piety, the proneness to quantitative estimates, military heroes, the universities—observations which show not only keen sight, but an extremely wide range of interests and the habit of considering all things from the standpoint of the history of civilization. But the best section is the third, in which, from this particular point of view, the author attempts to estimate the significance of the main phenomena of American civilization at its present state of development. Here also we may occasionally find striking conclusions advanced with confidence upon the basis of insufficient reading. But there is something inspiring in the breadth,

and in the main the justness, of vision with which the gifted author sets forth the essential problems of the history of American civilization, appreciates their vast importance to the future and in universal history, and suggests their solution. Many an American historical student, indifferent to art, music, literature, and the drama, unmindful of the instruction which might be derived from the history of other "new" countries and colonial populations, might find his horizon profitably widened by reading the last fifty pages of this little book.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Second Series, Vol. XIX. (Boston, 1906, pp. xviii, 583.) The most interesting documents in the volume are the letters of Edmund Pendleton, the extracts from the journals of Dr. John Pierce, and the European letters of Mrs. John Thornton Kirkland. The most interesting articles are those of Professor Franklin B. Dexter on Abraham Bishop, Professor Dunning's on Andrew Johnson, and Mr. Charles Francis Adams's long review of Mr. Rhodes's fifth volume. Nearly a fifth of the volume is devoted to the commemoration of former members of the Society. One such contribution rises far above the conventional level of such "tributes" and sketches, Mr. John T. Morse's biographical memoir of the late Colonel Henry Lee, a skilled biographer's treatment of an extremely vivacious personality.

The above volume inevitably falls into comparison with the eighth volume of the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1906, pp. xix, 465), which covers the transactions of the Society in 1902-1904. The Colonial Society is at a disadvantage in having a more restricted field, being likely to confine itself in the main to the period before the Revolution, while the Massachusetts Historical Society now has or should have its richest field in the period since that event. The younger society has no such store of materials in its own possession to draw upon, nor has it the literary traditions of the elder. It is not yet under the temptation to devote too much space to the commemoration of deceased members. On the whole, the best of the contents of the recent volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* is marked by a wider range of historical insight and a weightier exhibit of thought and experience; yet if we speak of the average contents, the volumes of the younger society are more interesting and show more energy and a disposition to deal with a greater variety of topics. Both volumes are made up with care, handsomely printed and well indexed. The latest volume of the Colonial Society presents 58 pages of index to 405 of text. Its most important articles are those of Mr. John Noble on the Vice-Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay and of Mr. Andrew M. Davis on the Confiscation Laws of the revolutionary period. The most interesting documents are letters of James Martineau, James Russell Lowell, and Nathaniel Walker Appleton, the latter exhibiting Cam-

bridge and other Massachusetts affairs in the years 1773-1784. The Society draws, to its advantage, a considerable part of its lesser documents from the former District of Maine. Mr. Albert Matthews continues to illustrate the history of American expressions and their use from his exhaustless storehouse of quotations—in the present volume the locutions “statehouse”, “Joyce Junior”, “red man”, “Palatine”, and “park”.

Historic Towns of the Connecticut River Valley. By George S. Roberts. (Schenectady, Robson and Adee, 1906, pp. vii, 494.) The towns are taken up one by one, in an order extending from the mouth of the river northward. There is, however, little other order; repetitions are frequent, and in the selection of information to be included or excluded no clear purpose appears beyond that of furnishing entertaining reading-matter. There are good pictures.

With the assumption of the office of Archivist of the Dominion of Canada by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty a new era in the history of the Canadian archives began. This will not be contested by any one who has read the preface to the *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1904* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1905, pp. xlv, 395, 357). In the first place, an important administrative change has taken place, consequent upon an investigation by a commission appointed in 1898. An Order in Council of 1903, based on their report, fused the two offices of Archivist and Keeper of Records (the former hitherto under the Secretary of Agriculture, the latter under the Secretary of State), and placed under the new officer's control not only the copies from Europe and other papers collected by the industry of the late Dr. Brynner, but also all the older portions of the papers preserved in the various departments of the Dominion Government. A large and suitable archive-building has been erected, and provision has been made for bringing into it not only the historical material now in Ottawa but also much else that is in provincial repositories. Dr. Doughty's first report, besides giving a comprehensive survey of these transactions, outlines a plan of campaign on which the continuance of transcription in Europe may progress. The plans hitherto followed having led to much duplication, the printing of calendars in advance of the receipt of transcripts will be suspended, in the conviction that better calendars can be made after the materials obtained from Europe have been, for any given period, combined with those preserved in the Dominion. As a preliminary to a general guide to the materials for Canadian history, the archivist prints in this report an extensive account of the archives of Canada prepared in 1787. The volume also contains the full text of the instructions to the governors, 1763-1787, some papers relating to the war of 1775-1776, and a summary of documents in Paris, prepared by the late M. Édouard Richard, supplementary to his report printed in 1900, and provided with a welcome index. The *Report concerning*

Canadian Archives for the year 1905 is to consist of three volumes, of which two, the former of nearly 1,300 pages, the latter of a thousand, have already appeared. The first contains a report on the archives of the Maritime Provinces, many papers from the Illinois settlements and the collections of the Chicago Historical Society, the instructions to the governors of Lower Canada from 1791 to 1839, letters of Vaudreuil, Lévis, and Dumas in 1760, a further summary of Parisian documents, mostly orders of the king and despatches, 1742-1784, with an elaborate index, and a genealogy of the families of La Beauce, P.Q. The second volume, except for a minute census of Isle Royale, taken by the Sieur de la Roque in 1752, is wholly devoted to genealogical material, for the Isle d'Orléans and Acadia, though the latter is accompanied with many documents which have a bearing on the expulsion of the Acadians. Genealogy, it is well known, is an object of passionate interest in French Canada, which may possibly justify so large an expenditure of government print in this field.

In 1903 the Province of Ontario established a Bureau of Archives and appointed Mr. Alexander Fraser to the office of Provincial Archivist. His first report, the *First Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly (Toronto, King's Printer, 1904, pp. 72), is a brief preliminary statement in which Mr. Fraser sets forth in an intelligent and workmanlike manner the probable duties and programme of such an establishment, calling special attention to the need of bringing together into one repository all papers and documents of historical interest, not in current use, from all the departments of the provincial government; to the need of extensive collection, either into the provincial archives or into local places of deposit, of municipal, school, and church records, correspondence, and other documentary material; and to that of copying, calendaring, and printing the more important records of the history of Ontario in all periods. Many interesting suggestions as to the process of collecting are given. Then follows a summary description, proceeding from one office to another but not yet covering all departments, of the historical records preserved by governmental bodies, and a body of selections from correspondence of the department upon questions respecting the nature and utility of its work; lastly, to encourage collections in local history, suggestions as to compiling the history of a township are presented, and are illustrated by a collection of materials respecting the county of Durham.

Mr. Fraser's *Second Report* (1904) (Toronto, King's Printer, 1905, pp. 1436) contains the evidence in detail, with the official reports based thereon, presented to the British Commissioners in Canada and London by United Empire Loyalists in support of their claims for compensation from the British Government at the close of the Revolutionary War. The manuscript volumes containing the evidence taken

in Canada were presented by the family of one of the commissioners, Colonel Dundas, to the Smithsonian Institution, and these volumes are now in the Library of Congress at Washington. A transcript of them, without the commissioners' pungent notes and references, is in the Public Record Office, London. The book is provided with a general index, but the reader feels the want of a table of contents, for there is serious difficulty in finding one's way.

The *Third Report* (1906, pp. 600) gives a verbatim copy of the minutes of the Land Board of the District of Hesse, or Western Ontario, and of some of the Land Board of Nassau or Niagara, the rest not having been yet recovered. When the United Empire Loyalists passed over to Canada at the close of the War of Independence, Ontario was still unsurveyed, and in order to settle the Loyalists surveyors were appointed to lay out lands and boards to grant certificates of location. This was the first settlement of Ontario except in the case of a few families who had made homes for themselves on the Detroit River and held allodially under the treaty of 1763. Therefore the proceedings of the early Land Boards down to 1792 are of great value and are an important addition to the printed archives of the Province. These minutes are accompanied by lists of early settlers, correspondence between the surveyors and the Land Boards and the Governor General's Council; original maps and plans prepared by the first surveyors, of great interest; and the official regulations under which the crown lands were granted. The volume is elaborately indexed, and while its make-up shows all the typographical and mechanical drawbacks incident on blue-book style and form, yet it will prove a useful work of reference to the student of Canadian history.

TEXT-BOOKS

General History for Colleges and High Schools. By PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS. Revised Edition. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1906. Pp. xv, 779.)

THIS is the first revised edition of a book which has been used in high-schools and colleges for many years. The work has been in part rewritten, and although much new matter has been added, its bulk remains about the same as before. The account of recent events, which now appears for the first time, is accurate and well-proportioned. Many new maps have been added, and the old maps have been worked over and improved. The selected lists of books given at the end of each chapter add very much to the usefulness of this work as an elementary text-book; in some cases, however, so many references have been given in the bibliographical notes as to bewilder somewhat the high-school teacher or student.

Outlines of Ancient History for the Use of High Schools and Academies. By WILLIAM C. MOREY. (New York: American Book Company. 1906. Pp. 550.)

THE teachers of the secondary schools are somewhat bewildered by the multiplicity of text-books covering some one of the fields of work laid down by the Committee of Seven. The books are shot out by the publishers like the pneumatic-tube cash-carriers of our department stores; and the teacher takes up first one and then another, and is sorely puzzled to find a *raison d'être* for the publication of each new text. He queries if the author has presented the subject-matter in a different way from preceding texts, if he has made any attempt to add or eliminate facts hitherto absent from or found in former books, or if he has changed the emphasis placed on certain portions of the material. To all of these questions the answer is no. Each book is scarcely more than a reproduction of its predecessors.

The book under consideration is no exception to this rule. In general it shows most of the qualities now demanded in a text for secondary schools. It is accurate and impartial; it shows sufficient acquaintance on the part of the author with the results of the most recent investigations; the language used is simple; the illustrations picture men or things as they were and include views of ruins and good restorations; the maps relate to the text and places mentioned therein are to be found on them; pedagogical apparatus, in the form of "synopses for review", "references for reading", a classified bibliography, and an excellent index, is put in its appropriate place at the close of chapters, or at the end of the book. There are some minute defects. The author might have profited by some earlier criticisms in this REVIEW passed upon his *Outlines of Greek History*: some antiquated illustrations have been put in; on a few maps there are many names of places not mentioned in the text, and these will only serve to confuse the student; teachers will miss the well-thought-out and suggestive questions which are to be found in some texts, others will lament the absence of a list of important dates, and still others will feel that the author has not made sufficient use of authentic anecdotes. At times carelessness in proof-reading is observable, as in leaving those puzzling numbers under the illustration on page 208, or in calling all the masks on page 211 "Masks used in Comedy", or in having "Broughton" for Boughton on page 526.

By the use of pencil and scissors the author has reduced his *Outlines of Greek History* and *Outlines of Roman History* from a gross total of about 750 pages to this volume of 550 pages. These two excellent manuals have suffered by the process used. The titles of the chapters have been changed. A comparison of the texts, however, shows that much cutting, but little rewriting, has been done. The failure to rewrite is the matter wherein the greatest weakness of this book lies. As it is presumably for pupils of about the age of thirteen

or fourteen years, the author should have made a distinct effort to write for (not necessarily write down to) children of that age. The error into which the author has fallen is in thinking that a book can be equally well handled by students of eighteen and fourteen. This is shown by his choice of material, by his method of presentation, and by the selections for outside reading, most of which would stagger a college student and which to the pupil of fourteen are but words, words—a dry and compulsory task to which he applies himself by reading a page and then counting up to see how many more he must read. The fact that most college writers of texts for secondary schools fall into this error makes it none the less serious in any book.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Essentials of United States History. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY and BLANCHE S. MOWRY. (New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company. 1906. Pp. x, 378, 56.)

The Making of the American Nation: a History for Elementary Schools. By JACQUES WARDLAW REDWAY, F.R.G.S. (New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company. 1905. Pp. xii, 420, 56.)

ESTIMATED by the number of text-books intended for pupils of the elementary schools which have been published recently, history is coming into a larger place in the curricula of these schools. Really worthy texts will do much to stimulate this interest.

The declaration, by the authors of *Essentials of United States History*, that particular stress is to be laid on the "personal element" sounds attractive. Short sketches of the careers of leading men are given either in the body of the text or as foot-notes. This feature would have been strengthened had the four and one-half pages which are devoted to Benedict Arnold (pp. 152-156) been given to the more notable and worthy characters.

Conventional titles are given the forty-one chapters, each administration being assigned a separate chapter.

"It is well," the teacher is informed (p. vi), "in many cases, merely to read over the details of war and battles, dwelling rather on causes and effects . . . the pupils should see clearly that glory is not confined to the battlefield, nor patriotism to the career of the soldier." Such a viewpoint is not emphasized by assigning fifty-five pages to the purely military account of the American Revolution, and by devoting to the Civil War one-fourth of the material from the inauguration of President Washington to the present time. Sense of proportion is lacking, also, when eight lines are given on the same page to the discussion of Hamilton's financial measures, and to the statement that Monroe came within one vote of a unanimous election (pp. 191-192). The mere outline of the Constitution and list of the presidents is of doubtful value (pp. 170-175).

A statement of fact, adequate for pupils who have devoted some time to a topic, is not sufficient for pupils in the elementary schools. They must be told *why* in the text, for outside help either from books or teachers cannot be presumed. No word of explanation is attempted relative to the influence of the conduct of Maryland in refusing at first to adopt the Articles of Confederation. Such a paragraph as the one on the Constitutional Convention (p. 167) would signify more to a pupil if, in place of the declarations: "Washington afterwards became the first and Madison the fourth President of the United States; . . . Hamilton, as the first secretary of the treasury, established our system of finance", there were some attempt made to state just what these men actually stood for in the Convention. Some reason also should be assigned for calling the Hartford Convention (p. 215), and for locating the new capital on the Potomac River (p. 197). The Genet episode ought not to be wholly omitted.

While these and other sins of omission might be overlooked, there can be no forgiveness for misleading statements and errors. Columbus, we are told, discovered the Orinoco River on his fourth voyage instead of the third (p. 14). Shall we ever learn that the statement of Mr. Gladstone relative to the making of the Constitution (p. 168) cannot be used without some modification? The "Era of Good Feeling" appears in spotless garments notwithstanding the fact that the sources indicate that they were a bit soiled (p. 217). It is misleading to assert that Calhoun, Jackson, and Crawford "held to the doctrine of state rights" (p. 225).

The language used is simple and direct. The maps and other illustrative material are not different from those to be found in a number of texts, and in some instances are poorly executed. Appendix A contains ten pages of well-selected and well-classified books for supplementary work.

The text-book written by Mr. Redway is very attractive and suggestive. The author has not hesitated to cut loose from established forms. New titles are given the chapters, and old topics are placed in new groups. Suitable recognition is given the European background to our history.

It was to be expected that the author, because of his interest in physical and commercial geography, would make industrial history the leading feature of his text-book. Indeed, the "Foreword or Two" sets forth the view that "political history may be broadly summed up as a quantitative expression of temperature, rainfall, and surface features"; that the development of commerce, manufactures, etc., "and not the eloquence of statesmen in legislative halls, have made the political fabric of the nation what it is to-day". Mr. Redway is to be congratulated on the development of this thesis. There is no disappointment in the reading of his excellent chapters on the economic evolution of the country.

But the query recurs constantly, have not the political and constitutional problems been slighted and the educational and religious influences been minimized? Discussions on such topics are, at times, so condensed that it is questionable whether pupils in the elementary schools would be able to understand their significance. No adequate understanding of the work of the Constitutional Convention can be acquired unless there is some attempt to define the compromises and the necessity for them. Other features of the Northwest Ordinance besides the exclusion of slavery are worthy of mention. The annexation of Texas is made the sole cause for the Mexican War (p. 275). Such a statement as the following, without explanation, would better be omitted: "The Electoral Count Act (1887) provides for such details of counting the electoral votes as are not named in the Constitution" (p. 365).

The actual errors of statement are few in number. Hamilton's plan of government is made quite as conspicuous as the New Jersey plan (p. 183). It is not in keeping with the fact to state that "The four plans" (Virginia, South Carolina, New Jersey, and Hamilton's) "were thoroughly discussed. The convention discarded Hamilton's and New Jersey's plans and eventually accepted the best features of the other two plans." Thirty-nine delegates signed the Constitution; and we now know that, of the thirteen members who were absent, only four absolutely opposed the work of the Convention (p. 184). Pinckney's "No, no, no, not a six-pence!" is still made to read "Millions for defense", etc. (p. 203). No doubt is expressed about the saving of Oregon by Marcus Whitman (p. 267). The language is suitable to pupils for whom the book is intended. The "Pronouncing List of Proper Names" (appendix, pp. 46-48) will be found serviceable. Much more might have been done in the selection of books which would be appropriate for collateral reading and for reference. Bancroft's *History of the United States*, constantly cited for the history of the colonies, is of little value to grammar-school pupils. There would be but slight appreciation, also, for such reference books as Fiske's *Critical Period*, Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Palfrey's *New England*, and Stephens's *War between the States*.

This text, on account of the wealth of excellent illustrative material and because of certain suggestive chapters, such as "A Period of Industrial Growth, 1789-1840", "Industrial Progress, 1845-1860", "Industrial Development and Economic Problems", and "Recent Events", might well be used by pupils as a supplementary text.

JAMES A. JAMES.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

The *General Index to Volumes I.-X.* of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, a book of 164 pages, prepared with great care by Mr. David M. Matteson, has now been issued, and may be obtained from the publishers either bound or unbound.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association, a full account of which will as usual be published in the April REVIEW, was held in Providence on December 26-29. The first session, as is customary, was a joint meeting of the Economic and Historical associations, at which the annual addresses of the respective presidents were delivered; the second session was devoted to various papers on European history; the third session, which was a joint meeting with the New England History Teachers Association, consisted of a conference on history in elementary schools; the fourth session, held jointly with the American Economic Association, was devoted to papers on economic history; while the fifth session was made up of two conferences, one on the study of history in colleges, the other on the problems of state and local historical societies; and the sixth and seventh sessions were given over to American history. At the annual business meeting of the Association the usual reports of committees and commissions were presented. In particular may be mentioned that of the Public Archives Commission, which embraced reports on the archives, state or local, of seven states. a bibliography of the published archives of the original states prior to 1789, and the statutes passed by the states during the past year respecting their archives. The report of the committee on bibliography included a list of about one thousand works selected as the most important source-books of European history, with a mention in each instance of the American libraries where they are accessible.

Alexander Brown, D.C.L., LL.D., died at his home in Nelson County, Virginia, on August 29, at the age of sixty-three, after a long period of ill health which entirely incapacitated him for work of any kind. His career as a historian was quite unusual. Leaving college to enter the Confederate army, he engaged after the war in mercantile business and later in farming. Seized with ambition to develop the early history of Virginia more completely than it had previously been developed, he pursued this end with wonderful perseverance and success, accumulating a singularly varied store of materials from European archives. Large parts of his rich finds were set before scholars in his monumental *Genesis of the United States* (1889), really a history of Virginia to 1616, *The First Republic in America* (1898), and *English Politics in Early Virginia History* (1901). These books often showed want of regular

training in historical criticism, and were marred by increasing and delusive prepossessions against the foes of the Virginia Company; but all who in future time work in this field will have reason to be deeply grateful to Mr. Brown for his services as a discoverer of sources.

Rev. Henry M. Baird, professor in the University of New York during forty-three years, 1859-1902, died on November 11, at the age of eighty-four. Though his chair was that of Greek (he was the first American scholar to study extensively in Greece, 1851-1852), his chief writings lay in the field of the history of the French Huguenots. His *Rise of the Huguenots of France* (1879), *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre* (1886), and *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1895), are standard works in that field, marked by learning, moderation of view, and excellence of diction. More recently, 1899, he published a volume on Beza.

The Reverend Edmund F. Slafter of Boston died during October, aged ninety. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a corresponding member of the Royal Historical Society, and president of the Prince Society. Among his historical publications may be mentioned *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization* (1873), *Voyages of the Northmen to America* (1877), his memoir of Champlain (1878), and *John Checkley, or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay* (1897), all issued by that society.

George R. Fairbanks died last August at his summer home at Sewanee, Tennessee, at the age of eighty-six. He was born in Watertown, New York, in 1820, graduated from Union College, was admitted to the New York bar, and in 1842 removed to the territory of Florida, where was his home, first at St. Augustine, later at Fernandina, for sixty-four years. His historical writings of most note are *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine* (1858), reissued, with additions, in 1868 as *The Spaniards in Florida, etc.*; *History of Florida, 1512-1842* (1871); *Florida, its History and Romance, 1497-1898* (1898); and *History of the University of the South* (1905). At the time of his death Major Fairbanks was president of the Florida Historical Society and an honorary member of the New York Historical Society. His historical library, rich in material on the early history of Florida, was bequeathed to the University of the South.

Reverend Robert R. Howison died at his home in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, on November 2, at the age of eighty-six. His principal historical work was his two-volume *History of Virginia* (1846-1848), the most comprehensive history of that state yet published.

Mr. Edward Wilson James of Norfolk, Virginia, a member of the council of the Virginia Historical Society, died on October 21. Mr. James commenced in 1895 the publication of *The Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Antiquary*, devoted to the history of the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and the adjoining counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne,

and edited and published it at his own expense, giving it liberally to libraries and historical societies. He confined his publication almost entirely to documents from the county records, etc., and did much good work not only for local, but for colonial and state history. Mr. James bequeathed \$3,000 to the Virginia Historical Society and about \$150,000 to the University of Virginia, which was made his residuary legatee.

Mr. William I. Marshall, principal of the Gladstone School in Chicago, died on October 30 at the age of sixty-six. He was best known, and performed a useful service to historical science in America, by his untiring efforts to combat in every form the legend respecting "Marcus Whitman's Ride". Besides writing acute controversial pamphlets upon the subject, he labored unceasingly with the makers of text-books to remove or exclude the legend from their pages.

Mr. John Rogers Williams, prominent in the organization of the Princeton Historical Society and editor of the *Journal of Philip Fithian*, died at Princeton on October 21.

Miss Mary Bateson died in London on December 1, in the prime of life and when apparently at the height of her unusual physical and intellectual vigor. The daughter of a master of one of the Cambridge colleges, she was educated at Newnham, of which she became a fellow and lecturer. Her remarkable talents, her devotion to work, and the force and simplicity of her character, make her loss deeply felt among English historical students. Though not unskilled in other fields, as was shown by an excellent chapter in the American volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, her chief repute rested upon a long series of contributions to the medieval history of England, especially to the history of the English municipalities. Her *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (1899-1905) established an admiration for her scholarship which was more than confirmed by the *Borough Customs*, issued by the Selden Society (1904-1906), a work of which the Lord Chief Justice declared that it showed her to possess more knowledge of English legal history than nine lawyers out of ten. Lately, as announced in these pages, she had been invited to be one of the three general editors of the proposed *Cambridge Mediaeval History*.

M. Auguste Himly, from 1863 to 1898 professor of geography in the Faculty of Letters at Paris, and dean of the Faculty from 1881 (honorary from 1898), died on October 6 in his eighty-fourth year. He was of those who know much but write little. Besides his thesis, on *Wala et Louis le Débonnaire*, and a few critical articles, he produced only the *Histoire de la Formation Territoriale des États de l'Europe Centrale* (1876; 2nd edition, 1894). This work, however, will doubtless keep his name before students of European history for years to come.

Henri Doniol, author or editor of several works relating to French history, among them a history of rural classes in France, two cartularies, and *M. Thiers, Président de la République, 1870-1873*, but best

known by his monumental *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*, five vols. (1886-1900), died recently at the age of eighty-eight.

M. Albert Réville, professor of the history of religions at the Collège de France, and author of an *Histoire des Religions* in four volumes (1883-1888), and of many other valuable books in that field and in Protestant theology, died in October, in his eightieth year.

Dr. Hans Edler von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, professor of history in the University of Graz since 1885, died late in November, aged sixty-one. His leading works, works of great distinction, were: *Die Politik der Republik Venedig während des dreissigjährigen Krieges* (1883-1885); *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitraum der Gründung des preussischen Königthums* (1887-1894); and *Deutsche Geschichte 1806-1871* (1895-1905). He was also the editor of the *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte*.

Geheimer Hofrat Heinrich Gelzer, professor in Jena, editor of *Scriptores Sacri et Profani*, and considered to be the chief German authority on Byzantine history, died in Jena on July 11, aged fifty-nine.

M. Léon Vanderkindere, member of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire and until lately professor in the University of Brussels, died in the early part of November, aged sixty-four. In earlier life he had played a somewhat prominent part in politics. His *Siecle des Artevelde* was published in 1879. His other chief historical works were *Introduction à l'Histoire des Institutions de la Belgique au Moyen Age*, I. (1890), and *Histoire de la Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen Age*, I. *La Flandre* (1899).

President Arthur T. Hadley is to be Theodore Roosevelt Professor of American History at the University of Berlin during the academic year 1907-1908.

The Managing Committee of the International Congress for Historical Sciences announces that the next meeting will be held in Berlin in the summer of 1908.

Although the Chair of Colonial History at Oxford University, established by the late Mr. Alfred Beit, was filled in December, 1905, by the appointment of Mr. H. E. Egerton, who entered upon his duties at Easter, it was not till October of this year, after the appointment in July of his assistant, Mr. W. L. Grant, that the department came into full working order. The last term's work included lectures twice a week by Professor Egerton on "The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century", and weekly by Mr. Grant on "The French Régime in Canada". In addition, both the professor and the lecturer receive students at their rooms during certain hours of the week, and hope gradually to establish a *Seminar* for advanced work. Before long a subject, dealing probably with the evolution of colonial self-government in Canada, will be added to the list of special subjects, one of which must be taken up by all honor students of modern history in the university.

The foundation of the new department it is hoped will be of special value to competitors for the degree of B. Litt. (the "research degree") intending to devote themselves to colonial history. The new foundation is of added interest at a time when the scheme of the Rhodes trustees is attracting to Oxford large numbers of colonial and American students.

To the students of Spanish and Portuguese culture in the Iberian peninsula, in Latin America, and in other parts of the world the opening, in April, of the library and museum of "The Hispanic Society of America" will be a matter of rare interest. Founded in July, 1904, by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, as a means to encourage the study of Spanish and Portuguese literature, philology, history, archaeology, art, science, and philosophy, the Hispanic Society, though American in origin, is international in character, membership, and activity. By correspondence and by publication the society may be expected to perform a great service to scholarship, especially since the generosity of Mr. Huntington has made it the possessor of his magnificent collection of books, manuscripts, paintings, coins, and archaeological specimens. The library now contains about 50,000 volumes. Of this number at least twenty thousand treat of historical subjects and include official publications and collections of documents. For the housing of the collection, to which additions are constantly being made, Mr. Huntington has provided a handsome and appropriate building situated in Audubon Park, 156th street near Broadway, New York. Membership in the Hispanic Society is limited to one hundred persons whose contributions to the knowledge of Hispanic culture are such as to indicate their peculiar usefulness for the prosecution of the great purpose to which Mr. Huntington has devoted his life and his fortune. With the exception, however, of certain rare works and objects of special value, access to which is restricted to members and to persons duly accredited by them, the contents of the library and museum will be open freely to the public.

The literary remains of Theodor Mommsen have recently been put into the possession of the Royal Library in Berlin. Of chief interest among these papers are four large chests of letters, which Mommsen declared should not be published till thirty years after his death. To these letters received by Mommsen the library will try to add as many as possible of the thousands which he himself wrote. In the series of his *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, Weidmann) the first volume of the historical writings has now appeared, Band IV. of the series, its three predecessors being juristic pieces.

Part I. of a *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* has been published by Aloys Meister (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. 319). The editor contributes an introductory *Grundzüge der historischen Methode*, B. Bretholz *Paleographie*, Thommen *Diplomatik* (in general) and *Kaiserurkunden*, Schmitz-Kaltenberg *Papsturkunden*, Steinacker *Privaturkunden*, Grotefend *Chronologie*.

The history of theological doctrines, the history of ecclesiastical institutions, and the history of religions are among the subjects on the programme of a new quarterly which announces its first number for January, 1907: *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, under the editorship of a group of Dominican professors (address: Le Saulchoir, at Kain, Belgium). The price, outside of Belgium and France, is fourteen francs.

The *Histoire de l'Art depuis les Premiers Temps Chrétiens* which is being published under the direction of M. André Michel has entered upon the second part of tome II., with the subject "Évolution de l'Art Gothique". The first part of this volume treated of the formation and expansion of Gothic art (Paris, Colin).

The first volume of an *Histoire Économique de l'Imprimerie*, by Paul Mellottée (Paris, Hachette et Cie.), covers the period from 1439 to 1789.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The volume entitled *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitâ* contains an introduction by Mr. Theodore M. Davis, who undertook the excavation of the tomb near Deir-el-Bahari in 1903; an account of the life and monuments of this queen of the eighteenth dynasty, by E. Naville; and a description of the finding and excavation of the tomb, by Howard Carter (Constable, pp. xv, 112).

The fourth volume of the *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents*, edited and translated by Professor J. H. Breasted (Chicago, University Press, 1906, pp. xxviii, 520), covering the period from the twentieth to the twenty-sixth dynasties, completes the work. An index is to be issued separately.

Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan, edited by Professor A. H. Sayce and Dr. A. E. Cowley (Moring, 79 pp.), is a collection of documents covering a large part of the fifth century B. C., which are now in the Cairo Museum.

In the report of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania entitled *Excavations at Nippur: Plans, etc., of the Buildings* are the plans and measurements made in the excavations by Mr. Joseph Meyer, Mr. P. H. Field, and Mr. Colman d'Erney, successively, with photographs and architectural plans, and a descriptive text by Mr. Clarence S. Fisher, which traces the development of the city until its decline.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion, by Dr. J. G. Frazer (Macmillan), is a preliminary publication of material for the third edition of *The Golden Bough*.

Two recent publications recording the work of the British School at Athens are its *Annual*, for the session 1904-1905 (Macmillan) and *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906). The latter shows the results of the

preliminary work in the exploration of Laconia undertaken by the School. The section devoted to inscriptions is the work of Mr. Tod; that on sculpture and miscellaneous antiquities was prepared by Mr. Wace.

Among the announcements of The Cambridge University Press is the second volume of Professor William Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*, of which the first volume was published in 1901.

Eleusis; her Mysteries, Ruins, and Museum is translated by Mr. Hamilton Gatchliffe from the French of M. Demetrios Philios, director of the excavations made in the sacred precinct from 1882 to 1894 (London, Appleton, 1906).

Under the editorship of Dr. Ludwig Mitteis, with contributions from Professor Ulrich Wilcken, a beginning has been made of the publication of *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig* (Teubner). The first volume contains 123 pieces, ranging in date from 107 B. C. to the Arabic period, but chiefly of the third and fourth centuries after Christ. It embraces a wide variety of documents of civil and military administration, and private business and correspondence.

Excavations have been begun on the site of the ancient Phoenician city of Motye under the supervision of Professor A. Salinas, the director of the National Museum in Palermo. Motye having been one of the last strongholds of the Phoenician power in Sicily, it is hoped that the excavations will shed light on the history and art of Phoenicia. Systematic excavations of Cumae, northernmost of Greek colonies in Italy, and of the theatre of Verona, are also in progress.

Messrs. Teubner of Leipzig are about to bring out part II. of Dr. Hermann Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*. Part I. appeared in 1870; the present installment concludes the work.

Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire (Aberdeen, University Press, 1906, 391 pp.), which have been edited for the four-hundredth anniversary of the University of Aberdeen, by Professor W. M. Ramsay, give the results of researches by Aberdeen students in Asia Minor. The volume includes a preliminary report by the editor on exploration in Phrygia and Lycaonia.

Among the collection of memoirs entitled *Mélanges d'Arbois de Jubainville* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. vii, 287) prepared in honor of the seventy-eighth birthday of M. d'Arbois are to be noted: *Les Éléments d'Importation Étrangère dans le Droit Gallois*, by P. Collinet; *Les Salyes Celto-ligures*, by Camille Jullian; *Un Tabou Guerrier chez les Gaulois du Temps de César*, by Salomon Reinach.

The director of excavations in the Roman Forum, Giacomo Boni, has published in the *Nuova Antologia* of November 1 a most important article upon the "Legends of Trajan", giving the results of the writer's recent researches in and near the Column of Trajan, and in the tombs of Trajan and Plotina, and also bringing together a great variety of

evidences which illustrate the origin and development of the legends of Trajan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Fabricius, *Das römische Heer in Obergermanien und Rätien* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 1); P. Lacombe, *L'Appropriation Privée du Sol dans l'Antiquité*.—II. *Athènes* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); E. Revillout, *Amasis et la Chute de l'Empire Égyptien*, III. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

With the object of setting forth the present state of knowledge on the subject of the early history of the Christian religion M. Charles Guignebert, of the University of Paris, is writing a *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne du Christianisme*. In a first volume he deals with the origins, and arrives at the end of the first century (Paris, Picard).

Mrs. Geraldine Hodgson, professor of the history of education in University College, Bristol, England, has published under the title *Primitive Christian Education* (Edinburg, T. and T. Clark, pp. 287) a series of useful essays dealing with aspects of Christian education down to the time of Jerome.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A publication has just begun that marks the accomplishing of a great part of the preparatory work for the general collection of papal bulls down to the pontificate of Innocent III. which was undertaken some ten years ago by the Royal Academy of Göttingen. It does again on a large scale what Jaffé, Kaltenbrunner, Ewald, and Loewenfeld attempted in their *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. The new repertory rejects the purely chronological arrangement of the older work, and disposes its matter primarily according to the destination of the documents in question. Its first division relates to Italy: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontificia, sive Repertorium Privilegiorum et Litterarum a Romanis Pontificibus ante Annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Civitatibus Singulisque Personis Concessorum*; and the first volume of this division—the one now published, edited by Professor P. Kehrer, director of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome—relates to that city. It will require several volumes to cover the several regions of Italy, and it is expected that they will appear at the rate of about two each year (Berlin, Weidmann).

A. Galante has published (Innsbruck, 1906) a *Quellenbuch* for the history of the canon law under the title *Fontes Juris Canonici Selecti*. This is arranged under the heads: *Ecclesia antiquissima*; *Potestas ecclesiastica et imperium civile*; *Ordinatio*; *Hierarchia ordinis et hierarchia jurisdictionis*; *Pontifex Romanus*; *Cardinales*; *Curia Romana*; *Legati Pontificii*; *Metropolitae*; *Episcopi*; *Capituli*; *Vicarii et coadjutores episcoporum*; *Parochi*; *Ordines et congregationes*.

The third volume in the new series of "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History," published by the Department of History in the University of Pennsylvania, is the *History of the Langobards*, by Paul the Deacon, translated and edited by W. D. Foulke.

A specially useful contribution to the study of monastic history is the critical edition of a Cluniac customary from the tenth or early eleventh century, in the second volume of *Consuetudines Monasticae*, by Dom Bruno Albers (Monte Cassino).

The relations between the church and the Orient in the time of the Crusades form the subject of a new volume in the "Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique": *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen-Age: Les Croisades*, by L. Bréhier (Paris, Lecoffre).

Rev. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., has translated into English *The Golden Sayings of Blessed Brother Giles*, following the critical Latin edition published last year by the fathers of Quaracchi as the third volume of their *Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi*. The little volume is published by the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia.

Saint Antoine de Padoue d'après les Documents Primitifs, by P. Léonard de Chérancé (Paris, Vve. Poussielgue, 1906, pp. xv, 257), forms volume XVIII. of the first series of the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque Française*.

Documentary publications: J. Brochet, *La Correspondance de Saint-Paulin de Nole et de Sulpice Sévère* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 111); G. Schnürer and D. Ulivi, *Fragmentum Fantuzzianum*: [containing the] *Pactum sive Promissio Facta per Pipinum Patricium Stephano Secundo Pontifici* (Études Historiques de Fribourg, fascicule II., 1906); F. Van Ortroy, *Vie Inédite de S. Bernardin de Sienne, par un Frère Mineur, son Contemporain* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. 3).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gino Arias, *La Chiesa e la Storia Economica del Medio Evo* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2); W. Goetz, *Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 1); R. Poupardin, *Charlemagne et la Principauté Lombarde* (Le Moyen Age, Sept.-Oct.); P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales*: IV. *La Patrie des Fausses Décrétales*; 2. *La Province de Tours* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); A. Poncelet, *Vie et Miracles du Pape S. Léon IX.* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. 3).

MODERN HISTORY

The fourth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, devoted to *The Thirty Years' War*, has just appeared (Cambridge, University Press).

Mr. John Murray announces, as the first issue (four volumes) in the "Indian Texts Series" edited by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, *Storia do Mogor; or the Mogul Memoirs (1653-1708)*, by Niccolao Manucci the Venetian, translated, edited, and annotated, under the supervision of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Mr. William Irvine.

The Grand-Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich has brought out at Paris in four considerable volumes a work on the *Relations Diplomatiques de la Russie et de la France, 1808-1812*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Pérez de Guzman, *Matrimonios Regios entre Inglaterra y España, 1623* (La España Moderna, July); C. de Bildt, *Cristina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II. Duca di Bracciano* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2); G. Desdevises du Dezert, *De Trafalgar á Aranjuez, 1805-1808*, *Notas de Historia Diplomatica* (Cultura Española, November); G. Goyau, *Un An de Politique Pontificale: Consalvi au Congrès de Vienne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

English Historians, with an introduction by A. J. Grant, professor of history in Leeds University (Blackie) contains parallel passages from the writers showing their aims and motives as stated by themselves and their style and methods as displayed in their works.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission has in the press reports on the manuscripts of the earls of Verulam and Ancaster, the bishops of Salisbury and Exeter, and the deans and chapters of Exeter and Wells, a fourth volume of the Ormonde papers, and a third volume of the calendar of the Stuart manuscripts possessed by the King.

We have received the twenty-second volume (new series) of the *Genealogist* (London, George Bell and Sons, 1906, pp. viii, 320), edited by Mr. H. W. Forsyth Harwood of the Middle Temple.

Melandra Castle is the title of a volume describing the excavations undertaken by the Classical Association at the Roman fort of Melandra in Derbyshire. The book is prepared by different members of the Manchester Branch of the Association and edited by Professor R. S. Conway (Manchester, University Press, 1906). Among the writers are Professor Boyd Dawkins and Dr. Haverfield, author of *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, recently published.

A volume of *Lectures on Early English History*, by Bishop William Stubbs, edited by Arthur Hassall, has been published through Messrs. Longmans (London, 1906, pp. vi, 391). The volume begins with a survey of the materials for English constitutional history in the Norman and Angevin periods. The remainder of the book traces the evolution of the chief European constitutions.

An excellent Jena dissertation, prepared under the supervision of Professor Cartellieri, is *Jung Heinrich, König von England, Sohn König Heinrichs II., 1155-1183* (Jena, Kampfe, 1906, pp. xiii, 83), by C. E. Hodgson.

Volume IV. of the *Political History of England* is by Professor C. Oman, and covers the period from the coronation of Richard II. to the death of Richard III. (London, Longmans, pp. 542). Volume V.

(1485-1547), by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and volume VII. (1603-1660), by Professor F. C. Montague, will appear shortly.

Richard III: his Life and Character Reviewed in the Light of Recent Research, by Sir Clements R. Markham, is announced for immediate publication by Smith Elder and Company.

Two volumes in preparation by Professor Feuillerat of the University of Rennes for Professor Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* comprise, respectively, documents on the revels at court in the time of Elizabeth and the accounts of the Office of Revels in the time of Edward VI. and Mary (the latter preserved at Loseby Hall).

English Patents of Monopoly, by W. H. Price, forms volume I. of the *Harvard Economic Studies*.

Professor Wolfgang Michael's *Cromwell*, in two small volumes, has been published at Berlin by E. Hofmann.

Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, Plates XLI.-L., published by the British Museum, represent the earlier years of the reign of Charles II.

The life of the great Duke of Ormonde, which is in preparation by Lady Burghclere and is expected to appear soon, is based largely on the unpublished Carte Papers.

Mr. Murray announces for forthcoming publication *Charles James Fox: A Commentary on his Life and Character*, by Walter Savage Landor, edited by Stephen Wheeler. This commentary, written in 1811 and suppressed before publication, will now be printed for the first time in full.

Volume IV. of *A History of the British Army*, by the Honorable J. W. Fortescue, is complete in two parts, covering the period from 1789 to 1801, with a separate volume of maps (London, Macmillan).

The Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham, 1792-1849, by Mr. Stuart J. Reid (London, Longmans), is based on the family and political papers preserved at Lambton Castle.

In *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, by Sir Samuel Hall (Longmans, pp. 278), the author aims at tracing the origin, leadership, and progress of the movement without discussing the theological questions involved.

The *Letters of William Stubbs*, published in 1904, have been succeeded by a volume entitled *William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825-1901; From the Letters of William Stubbs*, by W. H. Hutton (Constable, pp. 272); some new information has been added and some of the letters have been omitted.

Recent additions to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* are Nottinghamshire, vol. I.; Cornwall, vol. I.; Devon, vol. I.; and Somerset, vol. I.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in Public and Private Libraries and Muniment Rooms has been compiled by Mr. J. H. Jeayes, assistant keeper in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and published recently through Messrs. Bemrose. The volume contains over two thousand charters arranged under place headings and indexed, with short abstracts in English.

Mr. Laurence Gomme is about to publish through Mr. Fisher Unwin a work entitled *The Governance of London; Studies of the Place of London in English Institutions*.

Professor Ramsay Muir and Miss Edith M. Platt have published through Messrs. Williams and Norgate *A History of Municipal Government in Liverpool from the Earliest Times to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835*. The volume consists of a narrative portion by Professor Muir and a collection of charters, leases, and other documents in Latin, Norman French, and English, many of them hitherto unpublished, which have been transcribed, translated, and edited by Miss Platt.

The Scottish History Society, having lately issued for the subscriptions of 1905 the second volume of the *Records of the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh*, the *Records of the Baron Court of Stithill*, and the first volume of *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, proposes to issue for 1906 the second and third volumes of the latter, and the *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, all of which are nearly ready. Later it intends to print a volume of the charters of Inchaffray, the Ochertyre House-Book of Accounts, 1737-1739, a selection of the Forfeited Estates Papers, and a third and final volume of the *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies, 1650-1653*.

The Early Scottish Church; Its Doctrine and Discipline (Edinburgh, Sands and Co., 1906, pp. 306) by Dom Columba Edmonds, is chiefly an attempt to prove that the ancient Scottish church never claimed to be independent of that of Rome, yet has much learned material respecting Celtic Christianity, the abbots of Iona, liturgy and ritual.

The New Spalding Club of Aberdeen has begun its promised publication of the registers of the Scottish Catholic colleges on the Continent by a volume devoted to the registers of students, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, vol. I. (pp. 339). The whole period is covered in each case, save that in the instances of the colleges at Rome and Valladolid, which still flourish, the lists extend only to 1900. Biographical notes are added.

A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King, D.D., 1650-1729, recently published by Messrs. Longmans, consists of an autobiography and selections from Dr. King's correspondence, edited by Sir C. S. King (pp. 346).

British government publications: *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, vol V.; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, vol. II., Henry III., Edward I., 1257-1300; *Calendar of Close*

Rolls, Edward I., vol. IV., 1296-1302; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, vol. II., Edward I.; *List of Inquisitions ad quod Damnum preserved in the Public Record Office* (Part 2); *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, *Papal Letters*, vol. VII., 1417-1431; *Feet of Fines for Essex*, Part VII.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. L. Mathieson, *The Scottish Parliament, 1560-1707* (*Scottish Historical Review*, October); E. I. Carlyle, *Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts* (*English Historical Review*, October); C. Brinkmann, *Charles II. and the Bishop of Münster in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-1666* (*English Historical Review*, October); K. Stählin, *Die Politik der englischen Landgrenze von einst und jetzt: Die schottische und die indische Frage* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, XCVIII. 1).

FRANCE

In the series entitled *Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France* (Picard), we have received *La Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges*, a volume of documents edited by M. Noël Valois. The committee will before long publish a second volume of the correspondence of Cardinal Jean du Bellay, and a second volume of the nunciatures of France under Clement VII., while those under Paul IV. are under editorial preparation by Father René Ancel. The committee also announces as in preparation *La Désolation des Églises de France pendant les Guerres de Religion*, edited by L. LeGrand.

Happily the index to M. Molinier's volumes on *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, des Origines aux Guerres d'Italie*, has at last appeared. It is the work of an experienced bibliographer, L. Polain (Paris, Picard).

Steps are being taken by a group of scholars in France to found a review whose field shall be colonial history. It is to be called *La Revue d'Histoire Coloniale*.

The following volumes are announced as in the press for the "Collection de Documents Inédits": *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale*, tome VI.; *Correspondance Générale de Carnot*, tome IV.; *États Généraux de 1614*; *Lettres de Catherine de Medicis*, tome X. (supplement); *Procès-Verbaux et Arrêtés du Directoire Exécutif*; *Actes Notariés de Sully*.

Among the issues of the Société de l'Histoire de France as for the year 1906 is the first volume of the *Mémoires du Lieutenant-Général Souvigny*; perhaps also the first volume of the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*. For early publication the society has in hand the second volume of the *Mémoires de Saint-Hilaire*, edited by L. Lecestre, and the first volume of *Mémoires Militaires du Maréchal Duc de Croÿ*, under the care of L. Dorès and the Viscount de Grouchy.

In the preparation of *L'Arbitrage dans le Droit Français aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles* M. J. Fourgous has made extensive use of manuscript sources (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 213).

M. Léon Mirot has published a study of *Les Insurrections Urbaines au Début du Règne de Charles VI., 1380-1383* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906).

Only recently has provision been made for including matter relating to modern history in the "Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire". The volumes already published are to be considered as forming part of a first section, which will extend to the end of the seventeenth century; while for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there will be a second section, under the direction of a special committee. Among the numbers announced for the new section are: *Recueil des Protestations de la Cour de Rome contre les Articles Organiques*, by Count Boulay de la Meurthe, *Les Grandes Traités de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, by E. Bourgeois, and a critical edition of the *Mémoires* of Brissot, by C. Peroud (Paris, Picard).

The Société d'Histoire Moderne has in the press, besides the *Anecdotes* of the tribune Duveyrier, three new volumes: *Mémoires Militaires de Klever pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre de Vendée*, edited by M. Baguenier-Desormeaux; *Souvenirs et Fragments du Marquis de Bouillé* (the father of this Bouillé had a part in the affair of Varennes); the *Journal* kept by Charles de Lacombe, member of the National Assembly of 1871.

In a *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Épiscopat Constitutionnel (1791-1802)*, announced by the house of Picard, Paris, the Canon Paul Pisani aims, by bringing together in the form of short notices the chief outlines of the life of the bishops of that period, to provide the materials for a history still to be written.

Commandant Balagny's exhaustive work upon Napoleon's campaign in Spain has reached the fourth volume, which is entitled *La Course de Benavente—La Poursuite de la Corogne*. This work is published under the direction of the historical section of the general staff of the army (Paris, Berger-Levrault and Company).

M. Gabriel Monod's *Jules Michelet, Études sur sa Vie et ses Oeuvres* (1905) is to be followed this year by a volume on *Les Débuts de Jules Michelet*, in which M. Monod will set forth the life and education of Michelet from 1815 to 1830: his home life and his first marriage (with Pauline Rousseau), and his education at the Institution Briand, the école Sainte-Barbe, and the école Préparatoire. A series of such volumes is to lead up to a biography of Michelet.

The third part of the history of the Republican party in France by M. Tchernoff is entitled *Le Parti Républicain au Coup d'État et sous le Second Empire* (Paris, Pedone, 1906). The author has made use of some unpublished memoirs. The first part was published in 1901.

Upon the initiative of the Société Dunkerquoise pour l'Encouragement des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts, a congress of scholars interested in the history of northern France and of Belgium is to be held

at Dunkirk, in July. That the congress may accomplish something definite, a programme of questions on which contributions will be accepted has been prepared, evidently with great care. There are fifty-two questions in all, distributed in five sections: organization of historical work, and general history; philology, and history of literatures; religious, intellectual, and moral history; archaeology, and history of art; geography and social sciences.

Documentary publications: W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, I. (Franche-Comté) (Berlin, Weidemann, 1906, pp. 145) [Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Beiheft I.]; H. Lemaître, *La Chronique and Les Annales of Gilles le Muisis (1272-1352)*, abbot of Saint Martin's of Tournai [Société de l'Histoire de France]; A. Gazier, *Mémoires de Godefroi Hermant sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique du XVIIe Siècle (1630-1663)* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit); A. de Saint-Leger and Ph. Sagnac, *Les Cahiers de la Flandre Maritime en 1789, publiés avec une Introduction et des Notes*, I. (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. lxxiii, 473); F. A. Aulard, *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public, avec la Correspondance Officielle des Représentants en Mission, XVII.* (21 septembre 1794-6 novembre 1794) (Paris, Leroux, 1906, pp. 869); A. Lavertujon, *Gambetta Inconnu: Cinq Mois de la Vie Intime de Gambetta* [chiefly a series of fifteen letters written by Gambetta to M. Lavertujon in 1869] (Paris, Librairie Universelle).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Powicke, *The Angevin Administration of Normandy* (English Historical Review, October); Ch.-V. Langlois, *Doléances recueillies par les Enquêteurs de Saint Louis et des Derniers Capétiens Directs*, I. (Revue Historique, September-October); H. Baraude, *Le Siège d'Orléans et Jeanne d'Arc*, VI. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); J. J. C. Tauzin, *Le Mariage de Marguerite de Valois* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); M. Wilkinson, *The Wars of Religion in the Périgord* (English Historical Review, October); G. Ascoli, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Idées Féministes en France, du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); P. Caron, *La Tentative de Contre-Révolution de Juin-Juillet 1789*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); C. Christophelsmeier, *The Fourth of August 1789* (University Studies, Nebraska, October); C. Vellay, *Saint-Just: Premières Luttes Politiques, 1790-1792* (Revue de Paris, October 15); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon: La Cour et le Monde Officiel* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); G. Weill, *Les Lettres d'Achille Murat* (Revue Historique, September-October); E. Bourgeois, *Comment M. de Broglie écrivait l'Histoire* (Revue Historique, November-December); G. Monod, *Albert Sorel* (Revue Historique, September-October); H. Sée, *Le Travail d'Histoire Moderne en Province: La Bretagne, années 1904-1905* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October).

ITALY, SPAIN

The recently-published third volume of the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* contains, among many other important contributions, one by Mgr. Duchesne on the bishoprics of Italy and the Lombard invasions, one by Dr. Pastor on private libraries (especially those of the princely families of Rome), and one by the Count C. A. de Sonnaz on Louis of Savoy.

Professor W. F. Butler has published through Mr. Unwin *The Lombard Communes: History of the Republics of North Italy* (pp. 496).

A new translation of *The Florentine History* of Machiavelli has been made by Mr. Ninian Hill Thomson and published through Constable and Company of London.

The historical congress of the Italian *Risorgimento*, which met in Milan November 6-9, was limited in scope, but for this reason it accomplished more definite results than it is customary to expect from gatherings of this character. Its labors were confined to Italian history of the period 1796-1870, and resulted not only in bringing out a number of important historical papers, and the discussion of urgent questions of method and organization, but succeeded in arranging for the establishment of a permanent historical association, with a historical review devoted exclusively to this period of history, as its organ. A further result was an excellent temporary exhibition of documents, the catalogue of which will be an important contribution to bibliographical knowledge. The organization of the permanent historical association, Società Storica del Risorgimento, will resemble in many ways the American Historical Association; like the latter its annual meetings will be held in rotation in different cities of Italy. The publication of the *Rivista Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, which after the completion of three volumes, 1895-1900, under the able direction of Professor Beniamino Manzoni, was discontinued for want of funds, is to be resumed; the review will serve as the organ of the association. Among the important questions discussed at the congress was that of the systematization of material in the *Risorgimento* museums (resembling in character the museum of the Old South Church in Boston) which exist in most of the principal cities of Italy. The publication of a general bibliography of the *Risorgimento* was discussed, but unfortunately no decision was arrived at. About two hundred and fifty members subscribed to the congress, including almost all the well-known historians of Italy, and a few foreigners. Among the papers read were the following: Serafino Ricci, on medals in the history of the *Risorgimento*; Enrico Ghisi, on the Italian tricolor, 1796-1814; William Roscoe Thayer, on Cavour and Bismarck; H. Nelson Gay, on the relations between the United States and Italy, 1847-1871; Commander Weill, on Austrian policy with regard to Murat, 1814-1815; G. Capasso, on attempts to effect the escape of Settembrini from the dungeon of S. Stefano, 1855-1859; and Jules Gay, on Edgar Quinet and Italy.

M. Julien Luchaire has undertaken to set forth the intellectual origins of contemporary Italy, and has begun with a study of the years 1815-1830: *Essai sur l'Évolution Intellectuelle de l'Italie de 1815 à 1830* (Paris, Hachette).

The complete works of Giuseppe Mazzini are to be published under the auspices of the Italian government, through the house of P. Galeati, of Imola.

A Revolutionary Princess: Christina Belgiojoso-Trivulzio, Her Life and Times (1808-1871), by H. Remsen Whitehouse, was published recently in London (Unwin, pp. 317).

The *Archivio Marchigiano del Risorgimento*, edited by Ernest Spadolini and Luigi Mancini (Sinigaglia, Puccini e Marra, 1906), a historical quarterly recently founded to stimulate historical studies upon the Marche, 1796-1870, has now reached its third number, and may be said to have exhibited already sufficient merit to justify its existence. It closely resembles in character and scope the *Archivio Storico del Risorgimento Umbro*; both are doing excellent work in preserving and systematizing material for the Italian history of the period, particularly of their respective provinces.

A review has been founded to serve as an organ of historical studies relating to the region of the upper Adige: *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, under the direction of E. Tolomei (Trent, Zippel).

Señor Manuel Danvila y Collado, author of *El Poder Civil en España*, has published a volume entitled *Estudios é Investigaciones Historico-Críticas acerca de las Cortes y Parlamentos del antiguo Reino de Valencia* (Madrid, Jaime Ratés, 1906, pp. 508).

Modern Spain, 1815-1898, by the late H. Butler Clarke (with a memoir by the Rev. W. H. Hutton), is announced for forthcoming publication by the Cambridge University Press.

Documentary publications: J. Luchaire, *Documenti per la Storia dei Revolgimenti Politici del Comune de Siena dal 1354 al 1369*, with introduction and notes (Paris, Picard, 1906); O. Karmin, *La Legge del Catasto Fiorentino del 1427* (Firenze, Seeber, 1906); G. Bourgin, *Fonti per la Storia dei Dipartimenti Romani negli Archivi Nazionali di Parigi* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2); A. Rodriguez Villa, *Correspondencia de la Infanta Archiduquesa Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria con el Duque de Lerma* (Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, April-September).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Calmette, *La Politique Espagnole dans la Guerre de Ferrare, 1482-1484* (Revue Historique, November-December); C. Benoist, *César Borgia, I. La Préparation du Chef-d'Œuvre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); W. R. de Villaurrutia, *España en el Congreso de Viena, según la Correspondencia Oficial de D. Pedro Gómez Labrador, Marqués de Labrador* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, July-August); G. Tomassetti, *Della*

Campagna Romana, continuation (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The following prizes are offered for the immediate future by German associations: Fürstlich Jablonowski'sche Gesellschaft, Leipzig, M. 1500 for dissertations in the years 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909 on the subjects respectively of dialect-formation, the development of German *Kulturgeschichte* in the nineteenth century, the economic legislation of the chief German states from 1400 to 1618, Greek financial conditions; the Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, M. 2000 for a history of the Cologne staple (July 1908), M. 2000 for a history of the Rhenish press under the French rule (July 1908), M. 3000 for a history of glass-painting in the Rhine regions from the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century (July 1908), and M. 2000 for a history of the founding and continuance of the Prussian rule on the lower Rhine (in commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary thereof).

The *Historische Zeitschrift* has issued a *Register* for Vols. LVII.-XCVI.; it is arranged both alphabetically and by subjects (pp. xi, 334).

Workers in German history are provided with a new guide in the *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* of Dr. K. Jacob, of which Vol. I. (Leipzig) comes to the end of the fourteenth century. It has been noticed favorably by high authority.

F. Dietrich in Leipzig has published Band XVIII. of the *Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften-Literatur*, embracing scientific journals besides "Zeitungsbeilagen" and "Sammelwerke." The volume covers the first half of 1906 and records about 2,000 periodicals.

The ninth annual conference of "landesgeschichtlicher Publikations-institute" was held at Stuttgart April 17-21, in connection with the "Versammlung deutscher Historiker". The report, by Dr. Armin Tille, will appear in January (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot). The conditions of the publication and sale of historical material were discussed, and projects were submitted for extensive issues in the sources of agrarian history and for "Münzwerke". A committee was appointed to report at the next meeting on the conditions of "Regesten und Regestenwerken" and a report was made as to sources for the history of urban law and industry.

The fourth volume of Professor E. Michael's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1906) is devoted to poetry and music.

Dr. J. Greving, Privatdozent at Bonn, has undertaken with various other Catholic scholars the publication of a collection entitled *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte* (Münster, Aschendorff). It will be devoted mainly to Catholic writers of the sixteenth century. The first issue (by Dr. Greving) is *Johann Eck als junger Gelehrte: Eine*

literär- und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung über seinen Chrysopassus Praedestinationis aus dem J. 1514.

The *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte* has begun the publication of a series of studies on Luther, intended especially to defend him from the attacks of P. Denifle. The first of these is by K. Benrath, *Luther im Kloster, 1505-25*.

A new series, *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger, and Wilcken, makes its beginning with a monograph by Dr. O. A. Hecker, *Karls V. Plan zur Gründung eines Reichsbundes; Ursprung und erste Versuche bis zum Ausgange des Ulmer Tages, 1547* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer).

In the late Professor Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte* the new issues are volume III. of Ritter's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des dreissigjährigen Krieges, 1555-1648*, and the first two volumes of Kraus and Kaser's *Deutsche Geschichte im Ausgange des Mittelalters, 1438-1519* (Stuttgart, Cotta).

The *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV., *Ergänzungsheft 1*, is devoted to Dr. R. Fester's publication of "Der Universitäts-Bereiser Friedrich Gedike und sein Bericht an Friedrich Wilhelm II.," in 1789. The document (pp. 6-92) contains Gedike's notes of a seven-weeks' trip among fourteen non-Prussian universities (Helmstadt, Göttingen, Marburg, Giessen, Mainz, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Altdorf, Erlangen, Erfurt, Jena, Leipzig, Wittenberg), undertaken for the Prussian government for the purpose of getting information about general conditions but especially about professors whom it might seem desirable to call to Prussia. A large amount of personal information is given.

The Macmillan Company has published in two large volumes an English translation of the Hohenlohe memoirs, the German edition of which, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst*, published in the autumn (Stuttgart and Leipzig, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt), created so great a sensation in diplomatic and political circles.

The "Deutsche Städtetag" has undertaken the establishment at Berlin of a library on urban history and conditions, and has formed plans for starting it with the collecting of local material by its members.

Band 40 of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte Schlesiens* is accompanied by the eighth volume of the *Silesian Fürstentagsakten* (Acta publica), dealing with the year 1629 and of particular interest with respect to the Counter-reformation in Silesia.

Heft 2 of the *Beiträge zur Geschichte Niedersachsens und Westfalens* contains a study by Bruno Engler on the French government in Münster of the Napoleonic period. This is supplemented by an article by H. Hulsmann in the *Zeitschrift für vaterlandische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 63, with special reference to the city's constitution.

The Hansische Geschichtsverein has issued its thirty-second "Jahresbericht", showing that there has been published in the past year: *Oldenburg's Seeschifffahrt* (ed. Sello), and *Burgensprachen der Stadt Wismar* (ed. Techen). Since Koppmann's death the conduct of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* has been in the hands of a committee; for the future it will be issued semiannually.

Band 22 of the *Archiv f. böhmische Geschichte* (Archiv Cesky) contains an index to vols. 1-22. This shows the journal to contain a large amount of documentary material especially of economic importance from the middle of the fourteenth century to 1620.

The bibliography of Bohemian history which is being published by the Bohemian Academy (ed. C. Zibrt) in the Czech language (*Bibliografie Ceske Historie*) comprises so far two volumes: Vol. I. (1900), 674 pp., with 23,871 titles, and Vol. II., 1,216 pp. with 15,429 titles under Literature and 4,992 under Sources. These volumes bring the work to 1419; Vol. III. will come to 1600. Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia are included. The great extent of the work is due to the fact that not only titles but summaries of contents are given. The arrangement is based on that of Dahlmann-Waitz.

Leopold Engel's *Geschichte des Illuminaten-Ordens* (Berlin, H. Bermühler, 1906, pp. x, 467), a large book with many illustrations, is primarily a history of the movement in Bavaria, based, as is claimed, on exhaustive archive-researches in Munich, Berlin, Dresden, Gotha, Paris, Vienna, the secret archives of the order itself, and various private collections.

The Swiss National Historical Association has just published a *Repertorium über die in Zeit- und Sammelchriften der Jahre 1891-1900 enthaltenen Aufsätze und Mittheilungen Schweizergeschichtlichen Inhalts*. It is a continuation of the publication of 1892 by J. L. Brandstetter for the period 1812-1890 (Basel, Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung).

The historical section of the Annual Congress of Swiss Catholics, meeting at Fribourg September 21-23, decided to begin the publication of a review of Swiss ecclesiastical history and one of Swiss modern and contemporary history.

The Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz, at its meeting in Winterthur, September 10 and 11, resolved upon a comprehensive plan for a new series of the *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, embracing three chief divisions, of chronicles, documents, and individual correspondence respectively. A guide to the literature of Swiss history by Frida Gallati is also in progress.

Documentary publications: *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigismund*, IV. 2 (1431-1433); *Archiv für oesterreichische Geschichte*, XCV. 1; *Oesterreichische Urbare*, III. *Urbare des Benediktinerstiftes Gottweig von 1302 bis 1536*, ed. Ad. Fr. Fuchs; *Monumenta Historica*

Ducatus Carinthiac: Die Kärntner Geschichtsquellen, IV. 2 (1263-1269); *Nuntiaturberichte aus der Schweiz seit dem Concil von Trient*, I. 1, *Die Nuntiatur von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, 1579-1581, Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte, Nuntiaturberichte, und Correspondenz mit Carlo Borromeo*, ed. Steffens and Reinhardt; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, VII. 1, ed. Escher und Schweizer; *Die Zürcher Stadtbücher des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, III.; *Urkundenregister für den Kanton Schaffhausen*, I. (987-1469).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Rauers, *Zur Geschichte der alten Handelsstrassen in Deutschland* (Petermann's Mitteilungen, LII. 3); S. Rietschel, *Landleihen, Hofrecht und Immunität* (Mitth. des Instituts f. österr. Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 3); M. Lenz, *König Wilhelm und Bismarck in Gastein 1863; Ein neuer Beitrag zur Kritik der "Gedanken und Erinnerungen"*, I. (Deutsche Rundschau, November).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands, by J. Ellis Barker, which is among the announcements of Smith Elder and Company, is described as a political and economic history and a study in practical statesmanship.

Professor Felix Rachfahl of Königsberg, author of an interesting monograph on Margaret of Parma and of other minor writings in the same field, has brought out the first volume of his *Wilhelm von Oranien und der niederländische Aufstand* (Halle, Niemeyer, pp. 642).

The Royal Historical Commission of Belgium has decided to undertake a scientific investigation of foreign archives for materials for national history. At Simancas the documents relating to the Spanish government in Belgium in the seventeenth century are to be inventoried by Professor H. Lonchay of the University of Brussels, who will also gather there material for the continuation of the publication of Gachard's *Correspondance de Philippe II*. At Vienna M. J. Laenen, archivist of the Archbishop of Malines, is to calendar the documents connected with the origins of Austrian rule in Belgium.

Under the general title *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* the Belgian Historical Institute of Rome has begun its series of documentary publications. The first volume contains *Suppliques de Clément VI*. (1342-1352), edited with analyses by the director of the Institute, Dom U. Berlière (Rome, Bruges, Paris, 1906, pp. xxxix, 952). The Institute has also published lately an *Inventaire Analytique des Diversa Cameralia des Archives Vaticanes* (1389-1500), by the director (Paris, H. Champion, 1906, pp. ix, 328).

M. Arnold Fayen of the Belgian Historical Institute at Rome has edited with much care, and the city of Ghent has published, as a part of the second series of the *Cartulaire de Gand*, the *Liber Traditionum Sancti Petri Blandiniensis* (pp. 309), a record of gifts to the Benedictine

abbey of St. Peter, mingled with a varied mass of documents; the manuscript contains many details useful to the economic history of Ghent in the period before the middle of the eleventh century.

Under the title *Un Diplomate Belge à Paris de 1830 à 1864* M. Discailles, the biographer of Charles Rogier, has prepared a sketch of the life of Firmin Rogier, his elder brother, Belgian minister to France.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Christine de Suède et le Conclave de Clément X., by Baron de Bildt (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1906), is founded on autograph letters of the queen to Cardinal Azzolino.

Manuel Historique de la Question du Slesvig (Paris, Picard), edited by Dr. Fr. Jessen, is a French version of a valuable book in the preparation of which a dozen of the best Danish historical scholars have united. Though mainly directed toward a political end, it has high value to the historical student of events and conditions in Schleswig before 1864 and since.

The Library of Congress has just acquired, by purchase and by the generosity of Gen. Yudin of Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, his remarkable collection of Russica and Sibirica. The collection numbers 80,000 volumes and many thousands of manuscripts, including a hundred volumes of manuscript material for the history of Alaska before its purchase by the United States.

Several useful memoirs of high Russian officials respecting the military revolution of 1825 are made accessible in German in A. Goldschmidt's *Aus der Dekabristenzeit* (Hamburg, Gutenberg-Verlag).

Messrs. Teubner of Leipzig publish, as part II. of Dr. Theodor Preger's *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, the *Origines* (ca. 995) attributed to Georgius Codinus, important for the topography of the city. A map of medieval Constantinople is appended.

M. Pompiliu Eliade, in the first volume of his *Histoire de l'Esprit Public en Roumanie au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1905, pp. 402), deals especially with the period of quasi national independence between the revolt of 1821 against the Turks and the establishment of Russian control in 1829.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution has received authority from the trustees to undertake investigations of the archives of Mexico and France similar to those already carried through in the cases of England, Spain, and Cuba, and leading to the production of systematic guides to the materials for the history of the United States which are to be found in the two archives named. Professor Herbert E. Bolton will proceed to Mexico in June, for a year's

work of this sort. Mr. Pérez's report on the Cuban archives, and the second edition, revised and enlarged, of Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government at Washington*, are ready for the press. Mr. Andrews's report, supplemented by Miss Davenport's researches in London, approaches completion. Progress on other volumes continues. Preparations are being made for the compiling of a complete and scholarly edition of all the debates in Parliament on matters relating to the British colonies in America (to 1783). The first annual report of the present director, separately reprinted from the fifth *Year-Book* of the institution, will soon be sent to those most interested.

Volume I. of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1905 has just been issued from the Government Printing Office. It contains, in addition to the account of the Baltimore meetings, the following articles and reports: "Old Standards of Public Morals", being the presidential address of J. B. McMaster; "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1730-1733", by St. George L. Sioussat; "Why North Carolina at First Refused to Ratify the Federal Constitution", by C. L. Raper; "The First Lord Baltimore and His Colonial Projects", by B. C. Steiner; "The Authorship of the Monroe Doctrine", by James Schouler; "Origin of the National Land System under the Confederation", by P. J. Treat; "Slavery in California after 1848", by C. A. Duniway; the reports of the conference on the first year of college work in history and of the conference of state and local historical societies; a report, by Messrs. Thwaites, Shambaugh, and Riley, on "Methods of Organization and Work of State and Local Historical Societies"; a report of the proceedings of the second annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, and the report of the Public Archives Commission. In this last are included Reports upon the historic buildings, monuments, and local archives of St. Augustine, Florida, by D. Y. Thomas, the French archives of Illinois, by C. W. Alvord, the work of the Public Records Commission of Maryland, by Mrs. H. D. Richardson, the state archives of Wisconsin, by C. R. Fish, and a supplementary report upon the state archives of Michigan, by J. L. Conger. Volume II. of the *Report* is to comprise A. P. C. Griffin's revised bibliography of the publications of historical societies.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists met, according to announcement, in Quebec, September 10 to 15. Amongst the numerous papers submitted, a selection for individual notice is difficult. The delegate of the French government at the Congress, Professor Léon Lejeal of the College of France, together with M. Eric Boman, member of the French Scientific Mission to South America, supplied a paper on the *Question Calchaquie*; they uphold the conclusion, supported on the part of M. Boman by researches in the field, that this civilization, which is commonly held to be an independent development, is only a branch of the Ando-Peruvian. Professor Chamberlain of Clark University pre-

sented a paper on the linguistic stocks of South America, and Professor Franz Boas of New York discussed the ethnological problems of Canada. The historical work of the Congress may be divided into two classes, the one relating to the native races of America and their origin and history, and the other to the European discovery and occupation of the New World. In the second class the number of papers was comparatively small. Professor Stevenson of Rutgers College discussed the comparative fallacies of the early cartography of the New World, and Dr. Jules Humbert of Bordeaux gave a paper, drawn from archival sources, on Spanish efforts at pacific colonization in Venezuela and Guiana and the reasons of their failure. Historical papers on the native races of America were more numerous. Amongst them was one by Professor Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology, on primary Indian migrations in North America. Of a less general nature were the papers by Abbé A. Gosselin of Laval University on the Indians of the Mississippi from 1698 to 1708, and by Baron de Villiers du Terrage of Paris on the Indians of the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys in 1758. The former paper was based on reports of missionaries preserved in the Seminary at Quebec, and the latter on the report in the French colonial archives by Kerlérec, governor of Louisiana. Concerning the Indians of Canada, papers were given by Dr. J. Edmond Roy of Lévis on their principles of government, and by Abbé P. Rousseau of Montreal on the Hôchelagas.

The fifth meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America was held in Providence on December 27. Of especial interest from the point of view of the historical student were papers by Mr. Theodore L. Cole of Washington on the plans for a union catalogue of American colonial laws, by Mr. C. S. Brigham of the Rhode Island Historical Society on the need of a bibliography of American colonial newspapers, by Dr. Thwaites on the bibliographical work of historical societies, and the report of the committee on Americana.

The various antiquarian and ancestral societies are preparing busily for a proper arrangement of collections, as well as of public accommodations at the Jamestown Exposition. The fact that the Exposition Company has given the name of Jamestown to the exposition grounds at Norfolk, seems to have caused some confusion, and it seems probable that many of the organizations which have decided to hold their meetings for 1907 at "Jamestown" have the old town-site in view. There will be abundant accommodation for conventions, etc., at the Exposition at Norfolk; but at Jamestown Island, though every preparation will be made for rest houses, park benches, pure water, etc., there will be no place for meetings unless they are held out of doors.

At the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester on October 24, Dr. Edward Everett Hale was elected president. The society made provision for a catalogue of its manuscripts, and appointed a committee to consider the publication by the society,

as an additional volume of its *Transactions*, of all the royal proclamations respecting the English colonies in America and the United States to 1815.

The annual Report of the Librarian of Congress mentions, among the accessions of the last year, a collection of over 400 books and pamphlets relating to the Shakers, and the books from the library of the late Woodbury Lowery relative to Spain and Spanish America and to Jewish history. The Division of Maps and Charts has acquired a considerable number of manuscript maps, including those relating to the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States collected by Mr. Lowery. Foremost among the accessions of the Division of Manuscripts is to be noted the Stevens Catalogue Index of Manuscripts in the Archives of England, France, Holland and Spain, relating to America, 1763-1783, in 180 manuscript volumes, sufficiently described in these pages some time ago. Along with this catalogue were secured thirty-seven volumes of transcript made by B. F. Stevens of about 10,000 documents in English and French archives, relating to the peace negotiations of 1783. The work of transcribing material in the British Museum and the Public Record Office has proceeded steadily and the library now has on hand over fifty volumes of these transcripts, a list of which is printed on pages 137-139 of the librarian's report. Among other manuscript accessions are the historical papers of Mr. Lowery, comprising eighteen volumes of copies of manuscripts relating to Florida, New Mexico, California, etc.; the remainder of the Van Buren collection of Dr. S. F. Morris; papers of Senator James Brown of Louisiana, 1777-1810; eighteen letters from Zachary Taylor written during the Mexican war; the papers of the Galloway family of Maryland; the private correspondence (1856-1872) of Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois; the private correspondence of Thomas Corwin when Secretary of the Treasury, 1850-1853; and five volumes of the correspondence between the Collector of the Port of Savannah and the Treasury Department of the Confederate States.

We note and welcome the appearance of a new periodical, which may be expected to assume a position of leadership in the field which it covers: *The American Political Science Review*. The *Review* is published quarterly by the American Political Science Association, and is the official organ of that body. The board of editors is composed of men whose reputations afford ample guarantee that a high standard of excellence and scholarship will be maintained: John A. Fairlie, Frank J. Goodnow, John H. Latané, C. E. Merriam, Paul S. Reinsch, B. F. Shambaugh, Eugene Wambaugh, Robert H. Whitten, and W. W. Willoughby, the last named being the managing editor. The first issue (November) contains four contributed articles: "The Usurped Powers of the Senate", by A. Maurice Low; "Negro Suffrage: The Constitutional Point of View", by John C. Rose; "Racial Distinctions in Southern Law", by Gilbert T. Stephenson; and "An Index of Comparative Legis-

lation", by W. F. Dodd. The articles are followed by four departments: Notes on Current Legislation, News and Notes (with the sub-sections Personal and Miscellaneous, International Law and Diplomacy, Municipal), Book Reviews, and Index to Periodical Articles.

The *Magazine of History*, four numbers (May-August) of which are before us, offers its readers a mixture of serious contributions, reprinted articles, reminiscences of the oldest inhabitants, fragmentary genealogical notes, "historical fiction", documents, and poetry. The revival of interest in the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence" is responsible for the reprinting, from the old *Magazine of American History*, of the well-known controversial articles by Cassius M. Wilcox and James C. Welling and of some not very important reminiscences of Morgan Brown. There are useful articles on "The Commonage System of Rhode Island", by Franklin C. Clark; "Religious Restraint among the early Puritans on Long Island", by R. S. Guernsey; and "The Flag in Kansas", by George W. Martin.

The *American Historical Magazine* for November prints as its leading contribution "Reminiscences of the Panic of 1857", by Henry Dexter. It also includes the fifth paper by John A. Stevens on "New York in the Nineteenth Century", dealing with the "Beginning of Greater New York"; and the continuation of Theodore Schroeder's "The Origin of the Book of Mormon".

A twelve-volume edition of Prescott's *Complete Works* has been brought out by Thomas Y. Crowell and Company.

The Department of State has published in eight volumes (volume VIII. being a general index) a *Digest of International Law*, by John Bassett Moore. This work was commenced in consequence of the act of February 20, 1897, which provided for completing and perfecting the second edition of Wharton's *Digest*. As the work progressed under Mr. Moore's direction it became evident that it was necessary to adopt an entirely new plan, hence the present volumes constitute an independent digest rather than a revision and continuation of a previous one. As described in the sub-title, this work is "a digest of international law as embodied in diplomatic discussions, treaties, and other international agreements; international awards, the decisions of municipal courts and the writings of jurists, and especially in documents, published and unpublished [the manuscript records of the Department of State were drawn upon to July 1, 1901], issued by presidents and secretaries of state of the United States, the opinions of attorneys-general, and the decisions of courts, federal and state."

In the August number of the *German American Annals* we note a historical sketch of "Scandinavian American Literature"; in that for September-October the first installment, translated and edited by Luther Anderson, of the "Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman", provost of the Swedish churches in America. The diary opens on July 25, 1696.

Volume IV., Parts I. and II., of *Historical Records and Studies*, published by the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York, 1906, pp. 358), contains, amongst other matter, several articles on Catholic clergymen and laymen in the archdiocese of New York, notably Maximilian Oertel, founder of the *Kirchenzeitung*. Longer than these articles and wider in range are the address here printed of Rev. John T. Driscoll on the "Charter of Liberties and the New York Assembly of 1683," and the article by Archbishop Messmer on the establishment of the Capuchin order in the United States. The volume contains also the reports of the annual meetings of the society for 1905 and 1906.

Number 15 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, a volume of 122 pages, consists of Dr. Cyrus Adler's presidential address on "Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States," with large extracts from that correspondence in disputes or questions which have arisen with Turkey, Switzerland, Morocco, Roumania, Russia, and Persia.

The Dunkers (New York, 1906) is a Columbia University doctoral dissertation by John L. Gillin. It is defined by the author as "an attempt to apply the principles of sociological theory to the interpretation of the denomination" known as Dunkers, or German Baptist Brethren. There seems reason to fear that the history of the Dunkers has been rather obscured for most readers by a highly theoretical interpretation.

The latest issue in the series of *Johns Hopkins University Studies* is a monograph of 150 pages on "National Labor Federations in the United States", by Dr. William Kirk, now of Brown University. Under each of the chief headings, General Labor Federations, Trades Councils, and Industrial Unions, an historical account is prefixed to the descriptive or economic matter.

We have received a pamphlet, *Jeremy Bentham and American Jurisprudence*, by Jesse S. Reeves, being an address delivered at the tenth annual meeting of the Indiana State Bar Association, in July.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

Of the series entitled "Original Narratives of Early American History", two volumes have recently been published. The first contained *Original Narratives of the Voyages of the Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, the first part edited by Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin, the remainder by Professor Edward G. Bourne of Yale University. The other volume, properly the third in the series, *Early English and French Voyages*, chiefly out of Hakluyt, is edited by Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage of the Maine Historical Society. The second volume, *Spanish Explorers*, containing the narratives of Cabeza de Vaca, the Gentleman of Elvas, and Castañeda, edited by Mr. F. W. Hodge and Mr. T. H. Lewis, has been somewhat delayed, but will be out in February; the fourth, devoted to Champlain, in March or April.

The Norrœna Society has published (London and New York, 1906) a quarto volume of 176 pages bearing the title *The Flatley Book and Recently Discovered Vatican Manuscripts concerning America as early as the Tenth Century*. According to the title-page this contains "documents now published for the first time which establish beyond controversy the claim that North America was settled by Norsemen five hundred years before the time of Columbus."

Professor William MacDonald is engaged in the preparation of an annotated edition of the English statutes relating to America, extending to 1783.

On September 28 there was unveiled in the Reformed Church, Delfshaven, Holland, a bronze tablet presented by the Congregational Club of Boston in commemoration of the sailing of the first Pilgrim company in the *Speedwell*. The presentation address was by William E. Griffis, that of acceptance by Chairman Van Bentveld. Dr. Griffis's address has been published by J. M. Bredée, Rotterdam.

Eight new "Old South Leaflets" (Nos. 166-173) have been published during the past summer in connection with the Old South lectures on "Early days in the old colonies". The leaflets bear the following titles: "The Invention of Ships", by Sir Walter Raleigh; Captain John Smith's Account of the Settlement of Jamestown; De Vries's Account of New Netherland in 1640; The New England Confederation, 1643; Relation of Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland, 1634; William Penn's Description of Pennsylvania, 1683; The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, 1669; and "The Rights of the Colonists", by Samuel Adams, 1772.

Letter-books of Charles Thomson, extending from before his election as secretary of the First Continental Congress to near the close of his life, have been discovered in private possession in Oregon, and are being prepared for publication by Professor F. G. Young of the state university.

One volume of the original manuscript journals of the Continental Congress has for many years been missing from the series of volumes forming the records of the Continental Congress. It is not known when or how it disappeared, if indeed it formed a part of that series when deposited in the Department of State. It is possible that it is now in possession of some library or collector who is ignorant of its nature. In the hope that this missing volume may be located and restored the Librarian of Congress has sent a circular to libraries and collectors, describing the probable appearance of the volume and giving a facsimile of the page of the journals in Charles Thomson's writing. The description is as follows: "The writing should be that of Charles Thomson. It should begin with the entries for March 19, 1778, and end with the entries of May 1, 1778. It may be bound in thin boards, of a bluish color, and if any label is on the front it should be merely 'No. 1.' The

volume immediately preceding it is written on folio paper with the watermark of Britannia seated with shield and spear, in a circle surmounted by a crown, on one sheet, and the letters 'J. W.' on the other. The volume immediately succeeding is written on paper bearing the same figure of Britannia on one sheet, and the full name 'J. Whatman' on the other. They were evidently made up of quires of the paper, by Charles Thomson, and not by any binder."

The Correspondence of William Pitt, edited by Miss Gertrude S. Kimball (London, New York, Macmillan; two vols.), previously announced in these columns, has appeared. Great credit for this valuable documentary publication is due to the Committee on Historic Research of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, a committee of which Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat is chairman. The volumes have been prepared and printed at the charge of the Colonial Dames.

About half of the October issue of *The American Catholic Historical Researches* is devoted to documents and incidents bearing on the general subject of "Catholics in the American Revolution".

The Sterling Furnace and the West Point Chain (New York, De Vinne Press, privately printed, pp. 54) is an address delivered by Macgrane Coxe at Sterling Lake on June 23, 1906, upon the occasion of the unveiling of a tablet by the Daughters of the Revolution of New York, in commemoration of the making of the chain.

A useful little volume by W. Herbert Burk is a *Guide to Valley Forge* (Norristown, 1906). The volume is well illustrated and the topographical and historical information, accompanied by a good map, are calculated to make the visit of the tourist both profitable and interesting.

The New York Historical Society has printed (John Divine Jones Fund Series, II.) *The Journal of a Voyage from Charlestown, S. C., to London undertaken during the American Revolution by the Daughter of an Eminent American Loyalist in the Year 1778, and Written from Memory only in 1779*. The writer was Louisa Susannah Wells, afterward Mrs. Aikman.

The Robert Lucas Journal of the War of 1812, noted in these columns in the last issue, has been reprinted in an edition of four hundred copies from the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July.

Number VI. of the series of *State Documents on Federal Relations*, edited by Herman V. Ames, bears the subtitle *Slavery and the Union, 1845-1861*. Thirty-three documents, with ample historical and bibliographical notes, are included, and the series is now completed.

The larger part of the October *Annals of Iowa* is devoted to a detailed account of "The Battle of Pleasant Hill, Louisiana", by S. F. Benson. Mr. Benson was a participant in the battle, and has made a careful study of the Red River campaign. The article is illustrated with a map.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for October contains Part I. of "Naval Letters from Captain Percival Drayton, 1861-1865". The letters in this installment, about twenty-seven in number, are written to Lydig M. Hoyt and Alexander Hamilton, jr., and are dated from various points along the Atlantic coast. Drayton was at the Philadelphia Navy Yard at the outbreak of the war, but was soon placed in command of the *Pawnee*, in Dupont's squadron, and later in command of the *Passaic*. Then, after having been stationed at the New York Navy Yard, he was appointed fleet captain under Farragut.

Life and Letters of Robert Edward Lee, by Rev. J. William Jones (New York and Washington, Neale Publishing Company, 1906, pp. 486), contains a few letters of Lee, for the most part unimportant, that have not before been published. As Mr. Jones has been connected with Washington and Lee University since the close of the war, the few pages of personal reminiscences of Lee are perhaps the most interesting part of the book.

W. L. Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, two vols.) has just appeared.

From a New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865, by Mary Ames (Springfield, Mass., pp. 125), relates the experiences from day to day of Miss Ames as a teacher of freedmen on Edisto Island off the South Carolina coast, from May, 1865, to September, 1866. The narrative deals mainly with the negroes, and touches but lightly on political affairs.

Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana State University (Bloomington, Indiana) has in preparation a biography of Thaddeus Stevens, and will welcome information respecting material bearing on his subject.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

There has recently been printed (Concord, N. H., Rumford Printing Company, 1905) and distributed the argument for the defendants on final hearing delivered in 1905 by A. S. Batchellor, Henry F. Hollis, and Will P. Buckley before the United States Circuit Court, District of New Hampshire, in the case of *Percy Summer Club vs. Joseph C. Astle and Jacob Astle* (No. 315 Equity). The contention of the argument is that "a natural fresh-water pond containing ten acres, is a large or great pond; and that this is judicially recognized and affirmed as the common law both in the province and state." The historical bearing of the argument lies in that part of it that deals with the establishment and recognition of the common law in New Hampshire.

A biography bearing closely upon the political history of New Hampshire just after the Civil War is James O. Lyford's *Life of Edward H. Rollins* (Boston, Estes and Company, pp. 547).

To the *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* for February, 1906, Rev. Henry A. Parker contributed a biography of Rev.

Francis Doughty; to those for March Mr. Andrew McF. Davis contributed a valuable paper on the origins of stock-speculation; in April Mr. Henry H. Edes contributed interesting papers on the vice-admiralty court of the provincial period.

The Massachusetts General Court and the Boston City Council have had printed a small volume containing the proceedings of the celebration by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Boston of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. The chairman of the celebration was Dr. Samuel A. Green, and the oration, "Our Debt to Franklin", was delivered by Carroll D. Wright. As an appendix are printed some selections from Franklin's writings prepared by Lindsay Swift.

The Records of the First Church of Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1632 to 1830, have been edited, with exhaustive indices, by Stephen P. Sharples, of the Cambridge Historical Society (Boston, Eben Putnam, 1906, pp. ix, 579). The volume contains, in addition to the usual registers, records of church proceedings which are of interest especially in the earlier periods.

In the October number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* are printed some thirteen letters from George Williams to his brother-in-law, Colonel Timothy Pickering, 1777-1778. They are selected from the Pickering papers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and relate to Revolutionary matters. Further installments are to follow. In the same issue should be noted "Records of the Proprietors of Common Lands in Boxford, 1683-1710".

The Connecticut Historical Society reports two valuable accessions of manuscripts. Mr. James Terry of Hartford has given ninety papers of the Whiting family of Hartford, most of them relating to Connecticut's part in the French and Indian War. Miss Mary K. Talcott of Hartford has given six hundred letters written to Edwin Wesson of Northboro, Massachusetts, manufacturer of rifles, 1838-1848. The society is now preparing for publication the correspondence of Jonathan Law, governor of Connecticut from October, 1741, to November, 1750. The first volume, 1741-1745, will be issued during the coming winter.

On November 20 the New York Historical Society celebrated its one hundred and second anniversary by formally opening the completed part of its new building on Central Park West.

The *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York*, 1675-1776 (Dodd, Mead and Company), have been published in eight volumes by authority of the city government. The text is supplemented by committee reports and other documents. The work has great value to students of early municipal institutions. The volumes have been edited by a committee of the New York Historical Society, of which Professor Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University was chairman.

The Society of Iconophiles has published an index to the illustrations in the series (beginning in 1841-1842) of the New York City Common Council Manuals. The index is in four sections, (1) Plates and Maps; (2) Maps and Plans of the City of New York and Vicinity; (3) Miscellaneous Maps; (4) Facsimiles, Letters, Signatures, Documents, Broad-sides, and Certificates. An introduction has been written by William L. Andrews, and the volume is put forth by the Gillis Press. Copies not taken by members of the society will be on sale by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.

In the *Monthly Bulletin* for July of the Pittsburg Carnegie Library is a "List of References on the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania in 1794".

A second volume of Baltimore records, following immediately after those of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town, noted in these columns last year, has been edited by Wilbur F. Coyle and published by the Baltimore City Library: *Records of the City of Baltimore, 1797-1813*. The volume opens with the act incorporating Baltimore as a city, and then follows with the records of the city commissioners.

The September issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* is made up of three groups of documents. Under "Negro Colonization" are printed three letters from Montgomery and Frank P. Blair to J. R. Doolittle (in October and November, 1859) dealing with the negro problem and urging the creation of a sentiment in favor of colonization. Under "Early Appointments to Office under the United States Government" we are given fifteen letters to James McHenry, Secretary of War, from John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and William Vans Murray (1798-1800). There are also selections from the "Duane Correspondence", comprising letters to James Duane from Samuel Chase, S. Metcalf, James Kinsey, and William Tod, all written in the years 1774-1776, and relating to a variety of topics.

In the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October the "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions" are continued from June 15, 1738, to November 7 of the same year; under the caption "Virginia Legislative Papers" is commenced an interesting series of intercepted letters from Norfolk and Portsmouth Tories; a group of documents, translated and annotated by Professor William J. Hinke, relates to the German Lutheran colonies in Virginia after their settlement in Madison County; among them are included church accounts, reports, letters, and wills. "Revolutionary Army Orders for the Main Army under Washington" are continued from May 27 to 31, 1778. Among the "Notes and Queries" is printed for the first time a letter, unfortunately incomplete, from Patrick Henry to William Grayson, March 31, 1789, respecting the conduct of Indian affairs by General Joseph Martin.

The Virginia Historical Society is just completing a manuscript index to the volume of Virginia General Court Minutes, 1670-1676, which is in its library. It will not be published, but will be available there to all who may wish to use it.

The Virginia State Library has in preparation, in the Division of Bibliography, a calendar of the Richmond *Enquirer*, which will contain entries for signed articles, editorials, obituaries, etc. The same division has under way a bibliography of books, pamphlets, broadsides, and newspapers concerning Virginia, which will constitute a contribution to the ten-volume bibliography of Virginia projected by the Library. In the Department of Archives and History the mass of material owned by the state is being rapidly arranged and filed. The specific task under way at present is a calendar of all petitions that have been presented by the various towns and counties since 1773. A calendar of the George Rogers Clark papers is also in preparation, and a calendar to land grants of the colonial period.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* for October presents entertaining material in the continuation (August 4-7, 1775) of the "Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College"; and two letters written by James Lyon from the Camp before Yorktown, October 7 and 17, 1781.

Jefferson, Cabell, and the University of Virginia, by John S. Patton (New York and Washington, Neale Publishing Company, 1906, pp. 380), contains an account, based on the correspondence of Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, of the founding of the university, a sketch of the institution's early history, a description of the Jeffersonian buildings, and accounts of the various phases of the university's development, together with lists of honor and prize students, orators, participants in the Civil War, etc.

Volumes III. and IV. of the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, edited by Samuel A. Ashe (Greensboro, N. C., C. L. Van Noppen), maintain the high standard of excellence established in the first two volumes. In the third volume the sketches of Martin Howard, R. Howell, and Francis Nash bear on the Regulators, and point out that that movement had no connection with the Revolution. Of interest for the Revolutionary period are the accounts of Joseph Hewes, Robert Burton, George Farragut, and Alexander Lillington, while among the sketches bearing on later history those of R. M. Saunders, Holden, Turner, and North are especially noteworthy. Volume IV. opens with the sketches of Raleigh and Virginia Dare, and note should be made of the articles on John Ashe, Samuel Johnston, Allen Jones, Macon, and A. D. Murphy.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries has been printing from month to month, in the *Wachovia Moravian* (Winston-Salem, N. C.), a translation of the now famous document by Traugott Bagge. It will be remembered that

this document was first noted in public, because it contained a statement to the effect that at some time in 1775 the people of Mecklenburg County declared themselves free and independent. The document ended in 1779, was undated and unsigned. During the course of a most able and critical examination Miss Fries determined that it was by Traugott Bagge, was written in 1783, and constituted a summary of Revolutionary events in North Carolina. It is to be hoped that Miss Fries will conclude to publish the entire document in separate form. The article in which she demonstrates the date and authorship of the sketch is printed in the *Wachovia Moravian* for April.

A useful contribution to the local history of North Carolina is *The Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County, N. C.*, by Benjamin B. Winborne (Edwards and Broughton, 1906, pp. 348).

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has submitted his fifth annual report, in which is a detailed account of his investigations in the archives of England, France, and Spain for material relating to the provincial history of Mississippi. This state has the distinction of being the first state of the lower South to begin the publication of its documentary history, and Dr. Rowland's trip abroad was for the purpose of providing for the transcription of all documents in European repositories of the years 1540 to 1798 that are of sufficient value for Mississippi history. His report includes lists and calendars of the documents under investigation, and opens up an interesting field which has never before been systematically worked. The report will be ready for distribution about April 1.

The Baron de Pontalba has placed in the hands of the Louisiana Historical Society two memoirs on Louisiana written by Governor Miró, and many letters from Miró to Pontalba, written in 1792-1795. The documents are being copied for the society and will be published soon.

The larger part of the July *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* is devoted to a historical account of "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier", by I. J. Cox. This is followed by "Land Speculation as a Cause of the Texas Revolution", by Eugene C. Barker, and a few "Documents relating to the Organization of the Municipality of Washington, Texas".

The next meeting of the North Central History Teachers Association will be held in Chicago on March 30, 1907, in the rooms of Hull House. The principal address will be given by Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, and the list of speakers includes Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, Professor C. H. VanTyne of the University of Michigan, and Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri.

Of the contents of the "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* we mention the continuation of Allen Trimble's autobiography, sketches of

Captain Samuel Davis and of Timothy Lee, and an account by the late Reverend Henry Bushnell of the Central College of Iowa.

With the beginning of January, 1907, Mr. Harlow Lindley takes up his duties as chief of the division of archives in the Indiana State Library, with plans for a much more extensive collecting of historical material than has hitherto been practised in the state.

The most important contributions to the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September are "The Early Newspapers of Indiana" by George S. Cottman, and the first installment of "A Newspaper Index", being a chronological list of the more interesting material in the *Western Censor* and its successor, the *Indiana Journal*, from March 7, 1823, to December 4, 1827.

Mrs. O. P. Morton has presented to the Indiana State Library the private despatches of Governor O. P. Morton during the first two years of the Civil War, 1861 to January 1, 1863. The material is very interesting and valuable for historical studies of the conditions in Indiana at that time. The despatches cover a large field, including many to the authorities in Washington, to officers at the front, to private agents, state officers, etc. Much light is thrown on preparations to meet the Morgan invasion and on political conditions.

A state history of imposing appearance is *Michigan as a Province, Territory, and State*, by Henry M. Utley and Byron M. Cutcheon, assisted by Mr. Clarence M. Burton in the capacity of advisory editor ([New York], The Publishing Society of Michigan, 1906; four vols.).

Among the additions made by Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit to his library during the last year, several groups of important manuscripts should be noted: a collection of papers relating to Detroit during the years 1805-1811 throw light on the transactions of the village; a small bundle of manuscripts bears on the history of Detroit and the Northwest just before the battle of Fallen Timbers, in 1794, and includes a proposal by citizens of Detroit to establish military posts at Sandusky, Miami, and elsewhere, and an official report of the militia about to be mustered to resist Wayne's advance. Another group of papers relates to the massacre of Fort Dearborn in 1812, while still another, probably the most important, comprises the papers carried in a leather pouch by General Richard Butler, and taken from his body by Indians after St. Clair's defeat. This collection was secured by Mr. Burton from one of the chiefs of the Wyandotte Indians, during the last summer. It consists of reports made to General Butler while he was in command of Fort Pitt, which relate to the Indian troubles in that neighborhood early in 1791. Mr. Burton has in an advanced stage of preparation a history of Detroit in the Revolution, which will be printed in one or two volumes, for private distribution.

The regents of the University of Michigan have published through the University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, a *History of the Uni-*

versity of Michigan, prepared by the late Professor B. A. Hinsdale, with biographical sketches of regents and members of the faculties from 1837 to 1906, by Professor Denmon. The work is richly illustrated with pictures of the buildings and grounds and with portraits of the regents and professors.

Publication No. 10 of the Illinois State Historical Library is *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1905. It is composed of the record of the official proceedings, papers read at the annual meeting in 1905, contributions to state history, and obituaries. We have space to mention only a few among the many papers and contributions: "The Value of a Closer Connection between the State Historical Society and the Public Schools", by Henry McCormick; "The Bloomington Convention of 1856 and those who Participated in it", by J. O. Cunningham; "A Contribution toward a Bibliography of Morris Birkbeck and the English Settlement in Edwards County", by C. W. Smith; "Early History of the Drug Trade of Chicago", by A. E. Ebert; and "Puritan Influences in Illinois before 1860", by Carrie P. Koboid.

Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811 (pp. xiv, 34) is the title of the latest Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library (Volume I., No. II., June). It is edited by Clarence W. Alvord, and is a revised and enlarged edition of the library's Publication No. 2, which has the title *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois*, and which was prepared by Edmund J. James. The thirty-four laws here printed constitute the complete legislative record of the first phase of territorial government in Illinois, and are now collected for the first time. Several of the laws were found among the Kaskaskia records, the recent discovery of which has already been noted in these columns. The introduction by Professor Alvord is a valuable contribution to the territorial history of Illinois, and particularly interesting is his account of how, after much searching, the collection was at last completed.

The annual report of the Chicago Historical Society, November 20, 1906, shows that organization to be in a flourishing condition. Over 1,600 volumes and pamphlets have been added to the library during the past year, and the very remarkable collection of early prints, photographs, and stereoscopic views of historic places and personages in Illinois and the Mississippi valley has been classified and filed.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in Madison on October 18. Dr. Thwaites's report as superintendent shows that during the past year there has been an accession of over 10,000 titles to the library and that two especially valuable collections of manuscripts have been added. These are the papers of Moses M. Strong and of Morgan L. Martin. Strong was a resident of Mineral Point, a pioneer lawyer, surveyor, town-site promoter, and historian, and his papers, filling two hundred volumes, throw interesting light on the affairs of early Wisconsin. Martin, whose papers fill about

twenty volumes, was one of the earliest citizens of the lower Fox River valley; he was an Indian agent, lawyer, judge, and army paymaster, and the partner and adviser of Juneau in the founding of Milwaukee, respecting which enterprise his papers are particularly rich in material. At the open session of the meeting the following papers were read: "Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632-1832", by Publius V. Lawson; "The Old Mascontin Village", by John J. Wood, jr.; "Founding of Milwaukee", by Edwin S. Mack; "Western Wisconsin Industries", by John M. Holey; and "Count Haraszthy", by V. S. Pease.

Among the contributions in the September *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* we note the following: "Sketch and Picture of Governor Beriah Magoffin", by Mrs. Jennie C. Morton; "General Joseph Montford Street", by George Wilson; "George Rogers Clark", by Z. F. Smith; and "The History of the Kentucky Historical Society", by J. W. Townsend.

The *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, which has heretofore appeared at irregular intervals, will now be regularly published as a quarterly. Among the contents of the July number we note, as being of especial interest, an account of the "Emigration from the French West Indies to St. Louis in 1848," read before the Historical Society in 1878 by Edward de Lauréal, one of the émigrés, followed by a general account of "The French Émigrés, from Guadeloupe", by Adèle Hornsby, and a sketch of Edward de Lauréal, by R. A. Bakewell. There are also printed some "Documents relating to the Attack upon St. Louis in 1780," selected from the Canadian archives, and a narrative by Captain William Bicknell of two expeditions from Boon's Lick to Santa Fé in 1821 and 1822.

Among recent acquisitions to the collections of the Missouri Historical Society should be noted the private papers and correspondence of the late Judge Samuel Treat; a large and unique collection of state and private bank notes, gathered by the late Edward G. Moses; the letters of General George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia; the "Guibourd Collection", relating to the early French settlement of Missouri, 1752-1809; and the proceedings and papers of the Democratic Association of St. Louis County from 1839 to 1842.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has published *Circulars* Nos. 2 and 3, calling attention to the fact that the constitution of the society provides that local organizations may be enrolled as auxiliary members of the State Society, representing the advantages of such an affiliation, and describing the various classes of materials bearing on Missouri history desired by the society. These include all publications relating to Missouri or by Missourians, manuscripts, public documents and reports, reports of organizations and societies, files of newspapers and periodicals, maps, engravings, photographs, paintings, and all manner of relics. It is the desire of the society to collect at Columbia ma-

terials for a library and museum which shall constitute the principal repository of its kind in the state.

A bronze tablet in memory of General William Clark was unveiled in St. Louis on September 26, under the auspices of the Civic League of St. Louis and of the Missouri Historical Society. The principal address was by Dr. R. G. Thwaites on "William Clark, Soldier, Explorer, Statesman".

The three articles that make up the body of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October are all useful contributions. "The Origin of the Republican Party in Iowa", by Louis Pelzer, is accompanied by an appendix containing lists of the members and officers of the state convention of 1856. Of more general interest perhaps is the article on the "Origin, Principles, and History of the American Party", by Ira Cross, while "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa", by Hugh S. Buffum, is a valuable summary, illustrated with tables. A new feature in the *Journal* which should prove to be well worth while if continued is a list of "Historical Items in Several Iowa Newspapers from December, 1905, to September, 1906".

Professor Shambaugh of the State University of Iowa has issued the *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, under Governor Robert Lucas (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1906, pp. xxv, 341). The journal is printed from a manuscript record recently discovered among the papers of Robert Lucas. Notwithstanding that the Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa required that a record of executive proceedings be kept and transmitted to the President, this journal apparently is preserved in official records neither in Iowa nor at Washington. The volume illustrates the difficulties of territorial governors during the period to which it relates.

The *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society for 1905-1906* (Topeka, State Printing Office, 1906, pp. xi, 654) print fourteen addresses, mainly on Kansas topics, delivered at the annual meetings of the society in 1904 and 1905 or in connection with the semi-centennial anniversary of the territorial organization of Kansas. Amongst them is the speech of Mr. William H. Taft on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, at Topeka in May, 1904. The remainder of the volume is devoted to papers on early Catholic and Methodist missions amongst the Indians of Kansas, the navigation of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, and political and military topics in the history of the state. The volume is the ninth issued by the Kansas Society.

The Peopling of Kansas, by Wallace E. Miller (Columbus, Ohio, 1906), a Columbia University doctoral dissertation, is intended mainly as a sociological study, conducted on a historical basis. After describing the "environment" in Kansas and discussing the effect of it upon population, the author takes up successively the various races and nationalities (Indian, native white American, European, Negro) that

have gone to make up the population of Kansas. Then follow an account of the organization of population in relation to its institutional life, a discussion of "Aspects of the Social Mind", and "Impulsive Social Action", and finally, statistical tables showing the nativity of the foreign-born, by countries.

We have received *The County Boundaries of Colorado*, by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, reprinted from *University of Colorado Studies*, volume III., No. 4. The article is illustrated by sixteen well-constructed maps, showing the progressive changes from 1861 to 1903.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual session in Portland, Oregon, on November 30 and December 1. The officers for the next year are: president, William D. Fenton of Portland, vice-president, James D. Phelan of San Francisco, secretary, Professor C. A. Duniway of Leland Stanford University.

For the preservation and maintenance of the Bancroft Library, the regents of the University of California have resolved on the establishment of an "Academy of Pacific Coast History", and for a curator and staff of assistants. The academy is to be installed in the new university library building.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September is devoted to the addresses delivered upon the occasion of the reinterment of the remains of Jason Lee, the Oregon missionary pioneer, and to a continuation of the reprint of Johnson and Winter's *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*.

We have received *McDonald of Oregon*, by Eva Emery Dye (Chicago, A. C. McClurg, 1906). Although the narrative is based (according to the author's "Foreword") upon an exhaustive examination of historical material, the volume can hardly be ranked as a historical publication. The hero of the narrative, whose biography is supposed to be set forth here, is Ronald McDonald (1824-1894), one of the pioneers of the northwest, and among the first Americans in Japan.

A cordial welcome should be extended to the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, the organ of the Washington University State Historical Society, of which the first number appears for October, 1906. It is published at Seattle, in good form; Professor Edmond S. Meany is the managing editor. The arrangement is in the usual four subdivisions—articles, documents, reviews, news, with the added feature of a section in which rare printed works relating to the history of the state and of the Northwest Coast may be reprinted. Thus, in the first number is presented an installment of George Wilkes's History of Oregon. The most important article is one by Mr. Harvey W. Scott of the *Oregonian*, on "Jason Lee's Place in History". Others are on Washington nomenclature, by Dr. J. N. Bowman, and on the Cayuse War, our first Indian war in the Northwest, by Mr. Clarence B. Bagley.

The future historian of Canada will have small opportunity to go astray with such a publication as *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* at his command. The volume before us, by J. Castell Hopkins (Toronto, Annual Review Publishing Company), the fifth to be issued, relates to the year 1905, is a book of over six hundred pages, and, by no means least, is well indexed. Its scope can best be shown by mentioning the heads of the various sections: Dominion political affairs; General elections in Ontario; Provincial elections in Alberta and Saskatchewan; Public affairs in the provinces; Dominion and provincial finances; Relations with the Empire; Relations with the United States; Transportation interests; Militia affairs; Literature and journalism; Religious and sociological incidents; Production, trade, and material progress; Finance, insurance, and industrial conditions; Miscellaneous incidents; and Obituary. An appendix, printed separately in a pamphlet of thirty-seven pages, is a *Chronology of Canadian History*, covering the period from the Confederation in 1867 to the close of 1900.

We should note a French volume on the French phase of Canadian history, by E. Salane, *La Colonisation de la Nouvelle France, Étude sur les Origines de la Nation canadienne française* (Paris, E. Guilmoto, pp. 467).

Acadiensis for October commences an account, by Jonas Howe, of "Major Ferguson's Riflemen—The American Volunteers", together with the roster of that Loyalist corps, and brings to a conclusion the article by Reginald V. Harris on the "Union of the Maritime Provinces".

The present Earl of Durham has presented to the Archives Branch of the Dominion of Canada the collection of documents that formed the basis of the report of his father, Lord Durham's report in 1838 on the Canadian rebellion of 1837. The papers relate to the difficulties between the races in the lower provinces and to the defects in the colonial system of government. They consist of municipal records, pamphlets, posters, petitions, correspondence, etc.

A feature of the approaching tercentenary of the foundation of Quebec is to be a museum illustrating the various events in the history of Canada from the earliest times to the present. In it will be collected all obtainable relics of Champlain, Montcalm, and other figures prominent in Canadian affairs. A national subscription will be opened for the purpose, whilst grants will be made by the English, Canadian, and the French governments.

Abbé Dugas, formerly of St. Boniface College, Winnipeg, has just published the second volume of his *History of the North-West*, covering the period from 1822 to the extinction of the Hudson's Bay Company's sovereignty in 1869.

Constitucion de 1857 y las Leyes de Reforma en Mexico, by Ricardo García Granados (Mexico, Typografia Económica, pp. 135), is described as a historico-sociological study.

At the Congrès des Sociétés Savantes held in Paris last May Professor Jules Humbert of Bordeaux read a paper on the documents in the archives of Guipúzcoa relative to Spanish colonization in America, referring especially to the records and papers of the Compañía Guipuzcoana, founded in 1728.

Dr. Hiram Bingham, accompanied by Dr. Hamilton Rice, F.R.G., and assistant, left New York at the end of November for Venezuela. His plan is to follow, as far as possible, the military campaigns of General Bolivar during the War of Independence, 1812-1820. He expects to travel across country on horseback some eight hundred miles, from Caracas to Bogotá, and thence by the customary route to Cartagena. The expedition is undertaken in behalf of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale Universities, for the purpose of collecting scientific, historical, and geographical data. Dr. Bingham hopes also to gather material for a history of the South American wars of independence and for a history of the Scots Darien Colony.

A South American publication of especial interest is *Catálogo por orden cronológico de los Manuscritos relativos á América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1905, pp. 386).

The Royal Academy of Göttingen has published (*Abhandlungen*, phil.-hist. Kl., n. f., VI. 4) the history of the empire of the Incas by Pedros Sarmiento de Gamboa, edited by Dr. Richard Pietschmann.

We note the following recent works bearing on the history of Spanish America: *Las Constituciones Políticas de Bolivia; estudio histórico i comparativo*, by Jenaro Sanjinés (La Paz); *Das heutige Mexiko und seine Kulturfortschritte*, by Paul George (Jena, G. Fischer); *Benito Juárez, su Vida—su Obra*, by Rafael de Zayas Enriquez (Mexico, F. Diaz de Leon); *Heroe y Caudillo (continuación de Mejico Pacificado)*, by Adolfo Duclos-Salinas (St. Louis, Spanish American Publishing Company); and *El Sistema de Gobierno Dual de Argentino y su Origen*, by Antonio Rodríguez del Busto (Buenos Aires, Compañía Sud-americana de Billetes de Banco).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Vignaud, *Sophus Ruge et ses Vues sur Colomb* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s., III. 1); G. Friederici, *Die Ethnographie in den "Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias"* (Globus, November 8, 22); M. du Villiers, *Une Mémoire Politique du XVIIIe Siècle relatif au Texas* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, III. 1); A. Bertrand, *Les États-Unis et la Révolution Française* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); A. B. Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine in its Territorial Extent and Application* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, vol. XXXII.); G. Weill, *Les Lettres d'Achille Murat* (Revue Historique, September-October); R. Corlett Cowell, "Abraham Lincoln: Master of Men" (London Quarterly Review, October); W. H. Crook, *Lincoln*

as I Knew Him (Harper's Magazine, December); I. M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in the Civil War* (American Magazine, December); E. P. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke and the Financing of the Civil War* (Century Magazine, November, December); S. N. Cook, *Johnson's Island in War Days* (Ohio Magazine, September); Duane Mowry, *Senator Doolittle and Reconstruction* (Sewanee Review, October); F. T. Hill, *Impeachment of Andrew Johnson* (Harper's Magazine, November); D. C. Scott, *The Last of the Indian Treaties* (Scribner's Magazine, November); Allen Johnson, *The Nationalizing Influence of Party* (Yale Review, November); Ulrich B. Phillips, *An American State-Owned Railroad* [the Western and Atlantic] (Yale Review, November); H. Lorin, *Les derniers Jours du Canada Français* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); J. Marshall Sturge, *Was West Indian Slavery Harmless?* (Independent Review, October); *La Doctrine de Monroe et la Politique Panaméricanique* (Le Correspondant, August 10); José Ingegnieros, *La Evolución Política Argentina y sus Bases Económicas* (La España Moderna, August).